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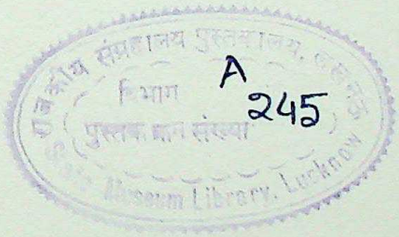

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable achievements in the study of Chinese art lies hidden, and for most Western readers inaccessible, behind the Japanese text of Ōmura Seigai's history of Chinese sculpture.[1] The scope of the book extends from earliest times to the end of the Five Dynasties period, in the late tenth century, A.D. It is at once a *Quellengeschichte* of the most comprehensive sort, a description of major monuments, and a methodical analysis of developments in technique, style, and subject matter. Not all of the material presented in its 661 pages is equally useful to the student today, to be sure. Archaeological discoveries have made Ōmura's account of Shang and Chou art obsolete; while for later periods much of his description and criticism has been superseded by more detailed studies. The book remains unique, even so, as an anthology of source material on Chinese sculpture, an inexhaustible mine of quotations from texts or inscriptions, usually contemporary with the monuments themselves. The great number of sources cited bespeaks an astonishing degree of familiarity with Chinese literature. Hardly less remarkable is the evidence given on every page of the author's tireless diligence and accuracy.

Ōmura's history will unquestionably never be translated as a whole. Even stripped of its comments in Japanese, and so reduced to a collection of quotations from Chinese sources, its dimensions are heart-breaking. The structure of the book, however, makes fragmentation easy. Its first principle of analysis is chronological, by dynasties, and the second is a division by subject matter. From the Han dynasty on, for example, Ōmura treats in one section of Buddhist sculpture, in another of Taoist, in others of sculpture for mortuary use, for palace decoration, and so on. In making my own translations I have concentrated here on the Buddhist portion, as being the most interesting to a Western audience (and to myself). To reduce the task to more manageable proportions, I have begun in this volume with the earlier half of Ōmura's Buddhist history, the art of Han, Chin, and the Six Dynasties, extending between the first century and the end of the sixth.

A further reduction has seemed to me both necessary and reasonable. A considerable part of Ōmura's text — by far the greater, from the sixth century on — presents inscriptions taken from statues, stelae, or the walls of cave shrines. There the difficulties of translation are multiplied, while the rewards are usually meagre. The language is mannered, sometimes to the point of incomprehensibility; there are more technical terms than usual, some of the characters are apt to be written in odd ways, and whole patches of writing may be effaced. At the same time the average inscription, if not always like its neighbor, will bear at least a family likeness to two or three others out of ten. Stock phrases, conven-

[1] *Shina Bijutsu-shi, Chōso-hen*, Tōkyō, 1915. I have published two groups of translated excerpts under the general title "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China": the first, "Foreign Images and Artists," in *Oriental Art*, II, 1, 1949, pp. 28ff.; the second, "Pseudo-foreign Images," in *Artibus Asiae*, xvi, 1–2, 1953, pp. 83ff.

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tional fragments of prayers, are repeated endlessly; and of course, to satisfy the Chinese passion for record and recognition, the text will be weighted heavily with names and titles. All of this has its own specialized value, and may some day win the devotion of a competent scholar, or team of scholars. For my present purpose it has seemed sufficient to pick out from the great mass of inscriptions what is clearly relevant to the history of Six Dynasties Buddhist art; evidence for the most part bearing on the development of Buddhist iconography. Since I have treated this material in a different way from the translations proper, I have relegated it to a special chapter.

For safety's sake I have wherever possible referred from Ōmura's excerpts back to his sources, finding him almost always scrupulously correct. I have taken the additional precaution of reading the whole of his most frequently cited Chinese texts (not, I must admit, with a uniform level of interest or understanding). These are the following:

Two large collections of biographies of Buddhist monks active in China: the *Kao Seng Chuan*, compiled by the Liang dynasty monk Hui-chiao (497–554), which carries into the first quarter of the sixth century;[2] and its sequel the *Hsü Kao Seng Chuan*, compiled by the noted early T'ang historian and mythographer Tao-hsüan (596–667), which continues the record until A. D. 645.[3] Also a similarly planned collection of nuns' biographies, the *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, by the Liang monk Pao-ch'ang, which terminates in that dynasty's T'ien-chien era (502–519).[4]

Two anthologies of Chinese Buddhist literature: the *Hung Ming Chi*, assembled by the Liang monk Seng-yu (444–518);[5] and its sequel by the same Tao-hsüan, the *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*.[6]

Two accounts of Buddhism under the Northern Wei dynasty: the chapter on Buddhism and Taoism included in the dynastic history *Wei Shu*, compiled by the Northern Ch'i courtier-scholar Wei Shou (506–572) in the third quarter of the sixth century;[7] and a history and description of the great Buddhist temples at the second Wei capital, the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, by the mid sixth century Yang Hsüan-chih.[8]

Two historical bibliographies of Chinese Buddhism: the *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi* by the same Liang monk Seng-yu;[9] and the *Li-tai San Pao Chi* of 597, by the Sui courtier-scholar Fei Ch'ang-fang.[10]

Three books of propaganda, upholding the claims of Chinese Buddhism against its adversaries, primarily the Taoists: the *Chi Ku-chin Fo Tao Lun-heng* of 661, by a monk of Hsi-ming-ssu at the T'ang capital;[11] and two works by the celebrated debater Fa-lin (572–640), the *P'o Hsieh Lun*[12] and the *Pien Cheng Lun*.[13]

Two works by the same Tao-hsüan dated 664, devoted chiefly to celebrated pagoda sites, wonder-working images, apparitions of deities, etc.: the relatively factual *Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan-t'ung Lu*[14] and the quite fanciful *Tao-hsüan Lü-shih Kan-t'ung Lu*.[15]

A huge miscellany, the *Fa Yüan Chu Lin* of 668, by an admirer of Tao-hsüan, Tao-shih of Hsi-ming-ssu.[16]

[2] In 14 *chüan*; reprinted in the Japanese Tripiṭaka, *Daizōkyō*, L, no. 2059. The author's stated terminal date is 519, but some details of information covering the next decade are included. See A. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography, Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks," *Silver Jubilee Vol. of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo* (I. e. the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūsho), Kyōto University, 1954, pp. 383 ff.

[3] In 30 *chüan*; *Daizōkyō*, L, no. 2060.

[4] In 4 *chüan*; *ibid.*, no. 2063.

[5] In 14 *chüan*; *Daizōkyō*, LII, no. 2102.

[6] In 30 *chüan*; *ibid.*, no. 2103.

[7] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, the *Shih Lao Chih*. Translated by J. R. Ware, "Wei Shou on Buddhism," *T'oung Pao*, 2nd. ser., XXX 1933. The author's biography is given in *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xxxvii, and *Pei Shih*, lvi.

[8] Written after the author's visit to the ruins of Lo-yang in 547; reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, LI, no. 2092.

[9] In 15 *chüan*; *Daizōkyō*, VL, no. 2045. Analysed in Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

[10] In 15 *chüan*; *Daizōkyō*, IL, no. 2034. Submitted to the Throne in 597.

[11] In 4 *chüan*; *Daizōkyō*, LII, no. 2104.

[12] In 2 *chüan*; *ibid.*, no. 2109.

[13] In 8 *chüan*; *ibid.*, no. 2110.

[14] In 3 *chüan*; *ibid.*, no. 2106. [15] In 1 *chüan*; *ibid.*, no. 2107

[16] In 100 *chüan*; *Daizōkyō*, LIII, no. 2122.

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A very detailed late history of Chinese Buddhism, the *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi* of 1269, by Chih-pan.[17]

Two additional works not used by Ōmura are: the earliest extant collection of monks' biographies, the *Ming Seng Chuan* of 519, by the same Pao-ch'ang who wrote the nuns' lives (this preserved only in excerpts made by a Japanese in 1235, under the title *Meisōden-shō)*;[18] and the mid ninth century painting history *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi* by Chang Yen-yüan.[19]

A good many of the conclusions that may be drawn from the texts translated — indications of iconographic development, evidence for sizes and materials used, the supernatural coloring of many of the stories told — are discussed in special summarizing chapters. The appendix, in turn, is an attempt to reconstruct in outline the histories of several of the best known and most holy Indian prototypes. A note on one aspect of the supernatural claims made for many of the images may be of value at this point. The reader will soon notice that the most venerated images, those with the most impressive records of wonder-working, were apt to be miraculous in their origins as well. The Chinese Buddhists of the early centuries could admire the masterpieces of religious art produced by the great men of their time, Ku K'ai-chih's fresco of the sage Vimalakīrti, for example, or the statues from the hands of the famous sculptor Tai K'uei and his son Tai Yung. By courtesy, as it were, they were able to ascribe to such purely human achievements the power to produce at least one primary miracle, the emission of light. For a greater hold on the pious imagination, the image had in some way to transcend the ordinary processes of human making. Some, as we shall see, were found under mysterious circumstances, inexplicable by the ordinary laws of causality. The greatest asset was an origin in India, the homeland of faith and magic; and a link of some sort, the closer the better, with the person of the historic Śākyamuni.

The legends that grew up in India after iconolatry had at last triumphed there, with the establishment of the Kushan empire in the latter half of the first century A. D., gave a unique status to two images that were said to have been made during the Buddha's preaching career. These were life-sized duplicates of His divine person, made on the orders of two kings who had been converted by His words: a golden statue for Prasenajit of Srāvasti, a sandal-wood one for Udyāna of Kosambī. The story, and something of its long aftermath, are traced in my appendix on the sandal-wood image (which by chance or through the operation of church politics, came to be far better known and more influential than its rival). At this point it is sufficient to note that Chinese Buddhists of the Six Dynasties period soon learned of the "first image" legend, and eventually showed their respect for it by claiming that Udyāna's statue, like everything else that was good and necessary in the Indian religion, had been transplanted to China.

Much more noticeable in the Chinese texts, however, is an association with another Indian monarch; one later in time than Prasenajit and Udyāna and not blessed as they had been by personal contact with the Buddha, but in all other ways greater and more memorable. Emperor Aśoka — who was of course a historic ruler, at the middle of the third century B. C. — was first glorified as the paragon of pious makers in Indian legends. Since the stories about him took coherent form in the pre-iconic period, they picture the Emperor as a creator not of images but of *stūpas*. He is said to have collected all the

[17] In 54 *chüan; Daizōkyō*, IL, no. 2035.

[18] See Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 410, n. 3. By the monk Shūshō; reprinted in the modern anthology *Zoku Zōkyō* (Tōkyō, 1905–1912), II, 2Z, vii, 1.

[19] I have used two modern Japanese editions: one in the anthology *Keisekken Ronga Sōsho* (Ōsaka, 1921); the other with annotations by Ono K., published in the Iwanami Bunko series, nos. 427–429, Tōkyō, 1938.

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known relics of Śākyamuni, to have re-divided them into much smaller portions, and to have distributed the results throughout the world, housed within 84,000 *stūpas*, which were transported to their destined sites by the aid of reformed demons.[20] The Chinese, naturally enough, came in time to reason that their land must have received its proper share, and that the remains of Aśokan *stūpas* might still be found. The search was undertaken in large part for reasons of propaganda (though perhaps it was spurred by the Chinese instinct for delving into the past). The number of places "identified" seems to have grown steadily from the early fourth century on. By the mid seventh it was possible for the enthusiastically credulous church historian Tao-hsüan to compose a whole chapter of his *Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan-t'ung Lu* on the subject of the A-yü Wang T'a, or "King Aśoka *stūpa*." More than twenty sites are discussed; some of which still possessed masonry foundations in Tao-hsüan's time, while others kept only the memory of a building with relics buried beneath it.[21]

It was presumably the Chinese who made up their minds that the Emperor must have been a great maker of images as well; I have not found the statement in any Indian text. It was only reasonable to believe that some of these, too, must have found their way to China in ancient times, to remain hidden for centuries until the time was ripe for their acceptance. When the proper moment came they emerged by the avenues of miracle, one might almost say by their own mysterious volition. The standard for all later "finds" of Aśokan statues was set by what seems to have been the first (my entry no. 4 under the Chin dynasty), made in the early years of the fourth century: two stone figures that were discovered floating off shore, and that repelled all would-be rescuers until they were approached with prayers by a party of pious Buddhists.

Emperor Aśoka's name was probably valuable to Chinese Buddhist propagandists for a variety of reasons. As an example for other pious princes, he was prized precisely because he had not known the Buddha in person; like any latter-day Chinese ruler he had had to make his way to salvation through the Church alone. His legendary munificence set an impressive precedent. Impressive, too, must have been the tale of his imperial grandeur. Though he had never been in a literal sense the universal ruler, or *cakravartin*, of Indian fancy — the Chinese were too good historians and too stubborn nationalists to admit that he had ever exercised any authority over their own country — he might be imagined at least as a sort of spiritual overlord for Chinese as well as Indians; had not China once received the tokens of his power and devotion? Finally, he must have been venerable because he was a figure of the remote past. He was in fact a much more remote personage, for the purposes of Buddhist propaganda, than sober history warranted; the Chinese churchmen placed him in early Chou, a half millennium before his actual time.[22]

[20] For the canonical literature on Aśoka, see J. Przysluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka*, Paris, 1923. The king's legendary distribution of *stūpas* is cited on pp. 242–244.

[21] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 404aff.

[22] It was generally believed that the king's reign had followed the Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa by something over a century (about half the interval recognized by modern historians). Buddhist propaganda tended to push back the dates assigned to Śākyamuni's lifetime as far as possible, obviously so as to counter a preposterous claim of their Taoist rivals that he had been none other than Lao-tzu (whose last known act had been to disappear across the western frontier). The *Wei Shu* chapter on Buddhism gives Śākyamuni the fairly modest birth year of 688 B. C. (Ware, p. 116); and the same conclusion is presented, after a critical examination of other theories, in the Sui history *Li-tai San Pao Chi*, i. On the other hand, to further a debate against the Taoist claim, the date is given as 1025 B. C. in *Pien Cheng Lun*, v. The Buddhists had several pieces of "evidence" from familiar Chinese sources to back up such an assertion. For example the Liang editor of *Hung Ming Chi*, in his postscript (xiv, p. 95c) identifies as a wonder-working Buddhist monk the magician told of by the Taoist Lieh Tzu, who had charmed by his arts the fifth Chou monarch, Mu Wang. "Thus the first presage of the Great Dharma was already manifested at the beginning of the

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As we shall see, the second celebrated "find" of an Ásokan image (my entry no. 3 under the Chin) is said to have been identified as a work made not by the Emperor himself, but by his fourth daughter. Presumably this variation was added merely to satisfy the Chinese story-teller's fondness for precise biographical detail. The princess turns up again, obviously borrowed, in the account of a later discovery (my entry no. 29 under the Sung). I have been unable to find any mention of her elsewhere except in a pious fiction of Tao-hsüan's. There she is a folk-lore heroine in Buddhist dress, an ugly girl whose goodness eventually brings her beauty.[23]

One technical detail of the translation should be explained in advance. The great majority of the statues referred to in the texts are described as *chin hsiang*. *Chin* is an ambiguous character that can mean either "gold" or merely "metal." In a very few instances it is clear that the former was meant; the two figures that Emperor Wu of the Liang is said to have worshipped daily, for example, were assuredly made of gold and silver (my first entry under the Liang). On the other hand we shall find that some *chin* images were as certainly made primarily of bronze, for the weights of the metals used are specified.[24] I have compromised by rendering the character almost always as "gilded"; all properly cast bronzes must have had a golden surface, in order to reproduce the sun-like radiance of the Buddha's body. One vivid little story tells of the grim price exacted by a privately-owned bronze statue, for being deprived of the gilding that was its due (my entry no. 35 under the Northern Wei).

The reader without much experience in Chinese terminology should be warned against a few, frequently recurring terms that I have left untranslated. Thus *Ti* at the end of a two or three character name will probably mean "Emperor." Sometimes I have left the whole designation in its original state, e. g. Han Ming Ti; elsewhere the same ruler may be called "Emperor Ming of the Han." The suffix *ssu* at the end of a hyphenated name (usually trisyllabic) indicates a Buddhist temple. I have almost always given temple titles in their Chinese forms, since the theological cliches they are apt to repeat are normally of no particular interest. Occasionally a popular nickname will convey needed information, and so require rendering in English: for example my Chin entry 11 speaks of a "Golden Image Temple" and Wei entry 9 of a "Temple of the Imperial Uncle." The suffix *shan* I have sometimes left unaltered, and sometimes translated as "mount." Thus T'ai Shan may be also Mount T'ai.

Chou. It was not merely in the Han age that the divine grace reached us."

[23] *Tao-hsüan Lü-shih KTL*, in *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 439b. The information given here is said to have been granted the monk by an angelic visitor, an emissary from the celestial Marshal of the Southern Quarter. "I asked him about the various auspicious images that are usually said to have been made by the fourth daughter of King Aśoka, [pointing out that] the matter was so mysterious and far-removed that it was difficult to ascertain what had actually happened. I was told in answer that the fourth daughter of the King was so ill-favored and unattractive that for a long time she never showed herself, but [remained in seclusion], lamenting her ugliness. Whenever she depicted a Buddha figure, its appearance turned out to be like her own, instead of what was proper for a Buddha. Always she would say in her prayers, 'The Buddha's distinguishing signs are different in the extreme from those of mankind. How can they possibly [combine] to look like me?' As months and years passed by in this way, her sorrow deepened. Then [one day] she experienced a manifestation of the Buddha, and instantly her old appearance was changed. Her father questioned her about everything, and she told him of her prayers. Now it is her images that are worshipped at the present time on Mount Fei at Yü-hua-ssu, in Ching-chou at Ch'ang-sha-ssu, and at the capital on the Yang-tzu, [this last being] Kao Li's. In some cases there is writing on the halo or pedestal, but few persons know this. The faces of these several images are certainly feminine." As my text notes, the last of these three statues is discussed in Chin entry 3. The first and second will be found as entry 12 under Northern Ch'i and Chou, and entry 16 under the Chin, respectively. In their cases, though the most abundant information is furnished by the same inspired chronicler, Tao-hsüan, nothing is said again about the fourth daughter; they are merely Aśokan.

[24] See Liang entry 3, Wei entry 7.

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My most conspicuous failure to provide a single, standardized (and so, monotonous) English equivalent will be found in the various ways by which I have referred to the physical features that identify a Buddha (thirty-two by one count, eighty by another). I have once or twice kept the Sanskrit word *lakṣaṇa*. In other passages I have referred to "distinguishing signs" or to distinguishing attributes" or to "body signs"; I am afraid that a critical reader will find even other variants.

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I.

THE DYNASTIES:

EASTERN HAN

A. D. 25–220

1. Since early times the great majority of Chinese and Japanese works covering the history of Far Eastern Buddhism have agreed that the introduction of Buddhist art to China took place at a definite moment and as the result of well-attested circumstances: the dream of the Han Emperor Ming, and his subsequent dispatch of a mission of inquiry to the West. Although modern scholarship has discredited the famous old tale as history, its value in revealing at least something of the early Chinese attitude toward Buddhism is still high.[1] If it is extremely unlikely that any of the events narrated actually took place, and that as a result a celebrated Indian icon was brought to the imperial court and reverently copied by Han artists, it is at any rate significant that the claim was made so stoutly and won such general acceptance. My discussion will concentrate on the artistic aspect of the problem, and will merely sketch in passing the kinds of discrepancies and contradictions that cast doubt on the story as a whole.

The earliest known presentation of the dream-and-mission story in which the interests of religious imagery *per se* are fully satisfied occurs in the late fifth century *Ming Hsiang Chi* by Wang Yen: a now lost book, whose preserved fragments suggest that it was originally a compilation of edifying or miraculous anecdotes.[2] There we read:

"Emperor Ming of Han dreamed that he saw a divine man, whose body was twenty feet tall and golden in color, wearing a solar halo about the crown of his head. He inquired of his courtiers, one of whom said: 'In the West there is a deity known as the Buddha, whose form is like what Your Majesty dreamed of; may it not have been he?' Thereupon envoys were dispatched to India, who had copies made of a *sūtra* and (obtained) an image, which they displayed in China. There from the Son of Heaven on down through the princes and nobles, all paid them honor; for when they heard that a man's soul is not extinguished by death, there was none who was not fearful of being lost. When first the envoy Ts'ai Yin brought back from the West the *śramaṇas* Kāśyapa Mātaṇga etc., and presented to the throne an *i* image of Śākyamuni that had been painted for King Udyāna, the Emperor paid it all respect, finding it just like his dream. He commissioned his painters to make several copies of it, for adoration on the Ch'ing-ling Terrace of the Southern Palace, and on the upper parts of the K'ai-yang Gateway and of the Hsien-chieh Mausoleum. Also at Pai-ma-ssu the walls were painted with 1000 chariots and 10,000

[1] H. Maspero, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming," *Bulletin de l'école française de l'extrême Orient*, X, 1910, pp. 95–130; or Sakaino K., *Shina Bukkyō Seishi*, Tōkyō, 1935, pp. 28 ff.

[2] Quoted in Tao-hsüan's *Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan-t'ung Lu*, ii, where the tale is entered as the first in a series of famous images; *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 413 c. For Wang Yen see Sung entry 30. For a critical analysis of this and other versions of the dream story, supplementing the works cited in note 1, see P. Pelliot, "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser., XIX, 1918–1919, pp. 255 ff.

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(1) riders in a triple procession around a pagoda. All this is fully told in various histories."

The sixth century collection of biographies of Buddhist monks, the *Kao Seng Chuan*, follows one of the more detailed earlier versions of the story in naming two Indian missionaries, a certain "Chu Fa-lan" (Dharmaratna?) in addition to Kāśyapa Mātaṇga.[3] In Chu's biography the reference to the icon of Śākyamuni is expanded: it is now "the fourth work done by the master of King Udyāna's sandalwood image." In a final paragraph on the evolution of image and relic worship in India and China, the same book speaks of the icon as "a Śākyamuni painted on fine cloth."

The phrase "an *i* image" is a difficult one to render with absolute sureness. *I* has in ordinary usage such meanings as "to depend on" or "to lean on." In later Buddhist terminology it came to refer to a figure seated with legs down in European fashion (doubtless by borrowing from the homophone *i*, written with the wood radical instead of the man radical, that means "chair").[4] I assume that the same sense was intended here; as it probably was in Chin entry 11, which characterizes two images by contrasting adjectives, one *i*, the other the standard term for "squatting". If so its use casts a first doubt on the dream-and-embassy story, since such a pose became current in India only in the fourth or fifth century. The question is complicated by the fact that in another version of the tale, included in the mid sixth century history of the Northern Wei dynasty, the figure is called a standing one.[5] (The adjective *i*, invented to describe an unfamiliar seated position and never widely used until its revival by modern Japanese scholars, seems to have been forgotten in the middle ages. Thus when the dream story was told once more in the *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi* of 1269, the author could explain *i* only by relying on the other, familiar adjective used in the Wei history; and so in a footnote advised that it meant "standing").[6]

This book will make clear something of the reverence with which early Chinese Buddhists looked backward to the fabled first image of Śākyamuni, made during his life-time by order of his royal convert Udyāna.[7] The reference in the *Kao Seng Chuan* to "the fourth work" probably involves nothing more than the Chinese passion for exact details in story-telling. I know of no second or third works "by the master of King Udyāna's sandalwood image"; as we have seen, the monkish author in another "biography" attributes the making of a miraculously-found golden image to "the fourth daughter of King Aśoka."[8]

The prototype for the relatively late versions of the dream-and-embassy story that I have cited was probably the *Mou-tzu Li Huo*, a tract answering questions on Buddhist traditions and dogma bearing the name of a certain Master Mou, who is said to have been active at the end of the second century.[9] There we find all the details repeated or summarized in the *Ming Hsiang Chi* with one notable exception. It is nowhere stated that the envoys brought back an image of any sort. Mou-tzu's curiously precise statements about the earliest Buddhist art produced *in* China — the frescoed procession at Pai-ma-ssu, and the Buddha images set up at key points in the Han imperial city — are found in no other early version. Two histories of the Later Han, the fourth century *Hou Han Chi* and the fifth century *Hou Han Shu*, merely terminate their accounts by

[3] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 323a and 413a (from *chüan* i and xiii, respectively). Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–117.

[4] So in the Japanese Buddhist encyclopedia edited by Mochizuki S., *Bukkyō Daijiten*, Tōkyō, 1936, pp. 4463c–4464a, where the adjective is used to describe one among several canonical figure poses, without explaining its source. For the two forms of *i*, see Quotations A.

[5] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 1r; Ware's translation, p. 111 (from the chapter on Buddhism and Taoism).

[6] *Daizōkyō*, XLIX, p. 329b.

[7] See Appendix on "the Best Known Indian Images," pp. 259ff., and other references noted in the Index.

[8] See above, p. xi.

[9] Quoted in *Hung Ming Chi*, i: *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 4c–5a. This is Pelliot's "Meou-tseu" (note 2 above); Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–108.

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saying: "From then on, representations [of the Buddha] were depicted in China."[10] What might be regarded as a basic source for the whole story cycle, the preface to the "*Sūtra* in Forty-two Articles" (the scripture that is said to have been brought back by the envoys) mentions neither an Indian image nor Chinese imitations.[11]

The vacillation that I have traced above is even more apparent when the whole content of the dream-and-embassy story is examined critically. The earlier accounts give no dates; the later ones, from the sixth century on, give half a dozen variants apiece for the dream and the embassy's return, chiefly in the 60's. Mou-tzu and the *sūtra* preface send the mission to the Ta Yüeh-chih, the land of the Kushans; the others speak only of India or the West. There is disagreement as to the number of persons in the mission and the names of its leaders. The *sūtra* preface and some editions of Mou-tzu make the absurd mistake of naming as chief envoy Chang Ch'ien, the famous explorer of the second century B. C. In modern scholarship the suspicion has grown that the second member of the party, Ch'in Ching, may also have been borrowed from an earlier mission to the West; in an embassy said to have been sent to the Ta Yüeh-chih in 2 B.C., the chief, who was taught Buddhist doctrines by a Kushan minister, had the name Ch'in Ching-hsien (the first two characters being identical).[12] There is disagreement, again, as to whether the missionary "Chu Fa-lan" came with the original mission or later, and whether or not he was responsible for the translation of the imported *sūtra*. The *sūtra* itself has been attacked as a Chinese forgery composed as late as the fifth century.[13] Two entirely different accounts explain why the first temple founded at the Han capital, Pai-ma-ssu, was named after a white horse; and so on.

From the standpoint of art history, finally, it should not be forgotten that even in India images of the Buddha have not so far been plausibly traced to a period any earlier than the last third or quarter of the first century A. D.

After all the chaff of the dream-and-embassy fable has been blown away, we are left with at least a few grains of evidence about Han Buddhist art in the statements made by Mou-tzu in the last decades of the dynasty. His attribution of images and the fresco of a procession to the reign of Ming Ti is very likely valueless; it must have been made at least on the assumption that his readers would know or have heard of similar works in their own time. The two types of subject that he mentions are entirely plausible in a late Han setting. Both suggest beginners' work, backed up by no more than a first acquaintance with Buddhist teaching. At the same time they fit as they should into an age of transition between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The triple procession celebrated the most formal act of worship in early Buddhism, the circumambulation or *pradakṣiṇa* around a *stūpa* with its relics. Back of the Han fresco must have stood as distant prototypes such Indian works as the reliefs of Sāñcī and Bhārhut. From the stylistic point of view the treatment of the "thousand chariots and ten thousand riders" could have stemmed directly from the funeral processions of the flourishing Han tomb art.

The images of Śākyamuni, on the other hand, speak for the great revolution in Buddhist worship that was completed by the second century

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 111–112. The revelant *Hou Han Shu* chapter, cxviii, on the West has been translated by E. Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd. ser., VIII, 1907, pp. 149ff.

[11] The *sūtra* is no. 678 in Nanjio B.'s *Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883, and is reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, XVII, no. 784. Its preface also is quoted in toto in the Liang dynasty *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, vi: *ibid.*, LV, pp. 42cff. Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–99.

[12] On this see Maspero's note 2, p. 98, and Sakaino, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32. The earliest account of this embassy has been preserved in the fragmentary *Wei Lio*, through quotation in the *San Kuo Wei Chih*, xxx, p. 12 v; a translation by Chavannes appears in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd. ser., VI, 1905, pp. 519ff.

[13] Sakaino, *op. cit.*, pp. 36ff., 56–57, argues that the *sūtra* quotes numerous passages from other scriptures that were translated into Chinese only in the fourth or early fifth centuries.

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A. D., replacing the old aniconic tradition. It is noteworthy that they are said to have been used in an unorthodox, one might say even a pagan way. None was properly housed in a temple; instead Moū-tzu's description suggests that the three were used as guardians of the imperial person, one being placed in the palace, another over one of the front gates leading into the capital, and the third over the imperial mausoleum. For this sort of treatment the precedents are more obscure. If they may be traced away from China, the trail perhaps leads not so much to India as to our Near East, to the same background of belief that induced the Byzantines to set an image of Christ over the entrance to the great Chalke palace.[14]

2. The annals of Chinese Buddhism set out in great detail in the thirteenth century *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi* provide a note on the Buddhist predilections of another Han Emperor, Huan.[15] Under the year A. D. 166 we read:

"From the Yung-p'ing era [A. D. 58–75, the reign of Ming Ti] on, though Buddhism had been practised by courtiers and commoners, no Son of Heaven had as yet taken any liking to it. This ruler was the first to show it real love. In the Forbidden City he had golden images cast of the Buddha and of Lao-tzu. In his Cho-lung Palace he worshipped them in person, providing them thrones with decorated canopies and borrowing the music from the imperial sacrifice to Heaven."

The entry is believable; unfortunately its key detail disappears in earlier accounts of the same imperial experiment. Huan Ti's annals in the Later Han history speak merely of his interest in Lao-tzu. In A. D. 165 he is said to have sent an official to offer worship at the ancient philosopher's shrine in Ku-hsien, in what had been the old state of Ch'u; the following year "Huang Lao" was worshipped in the Cho-lung Palace, by the ruler in person.[16] The omission of any reference to Buddhism here may well have been due to an annalist's prejudice against foreign novelties. The same history in its biography of the astrologer Hsiang K'ai quotes a long, censorious memorial sent by him to Huan Ti, chiding the emperor for neglect of serious matters. At one point he says: "Also I have heard that shrines to Huang Lao and the Buddha have been set up in the palace"; and goes on to ask his prince whether true devotion should not require first an obedience to the religion's moral teaching.[17] It is by no means impossible that Huan Ti's shrine to the Buddha contained a statue or painting, but the case must remain unclear. We shall find, indeed, in my next paragraph, dealing with an authentic Buddha statue made twenty years after Huan Ti's time, a note of curiosity in the annalist's wording that suggests that he was writing of a real novelty.

3. The earliest Buddhist image in China for which a proper historical backing is available was made probably somewhere around A. D. 190, in Kiangsu. The patron, Chai Jung, was a provincial magnate, who had used his office as administrator of grain transport to carve out for himself a kind of feudal domain. He is called an active propagandist for Buddhism; the account of his career given in the history of the Three Kingdoms holds that:

"He erected a Buddha shrine, making a human figure of bronze whose body he coated with gold and clad in brocades. He hung up nine tiers of bronze plates [on the spire] over a multi-storeyed pavilion; his covered galleries could contain three thousand men or more."[18]

[14] See E. B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1956, p. 135, pp. 41–42.

[15] *Daizōkyō*, IL, p. 330c (from xxxv).

[16] *Hou Han Shu*, vii, p. 7 v, and xviii, p. 4 v.

[17] *Ibid.*, lx, 2, p. 10.

[18] One version in the biography of Liu Yu in *San Kuo Wu Chih*, iv, p. lv; another in that of T'ao Ch'ien in *Hou Han Shu*, ciii, p. 6r. Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–104; Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 395. On the architectural form, see Soper, *The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, Princeton, 1942, p. 39.

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State Museum, Lucknow.

This is clearly a description of something approaching a proper Buddhist temple; though Chai Jung seems to have joined in one building – perhaps through ignorance – what later were to be the distinct functions of a pagoda and a Buddha hall.

THE THREE KINGDOMS

A. D. 220–265

1. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, i, gives the following account of the first well-known missionary to South China:[1]

"K'ang Seng Hui's forebears were Sogdians who had lived for generations in India. His father followed a trader's career to Chiao-chih [Tonkin]. When Hui was something over ten years old, both his parents died, and he took holy orders after he had mourned them. [A eulogy of his talents and learning follows]. At that time the South was ruled by Sun Ch'üan [r. 222 to 252], and Buddhist teachings had as yet no currency. [A resume is given of the efforts of earlier missionaries, one of whom had reached Sun Ch'üan's court, had been well received, and had been able to translate a number of important *sūtras*]. The land of Wu was just beginning to be impregnated with the Great Dharma, but the reformation was not yet complete.

"Seng Hui was anxious to propagate the religion in the South, and to set up icons and temples there on a grand scale; so he took his monk's staff and travelled eastward, reaching [the capital] in the year [247]. There he built an oratory of thatch and set up an image for ritual circumambulation. This was the first time that a *śramaṇa* had been seen in Wu, and those who saw the form without understanding its underlying principles, suspected it of being a new superstition. A memorial was submitted, reading:

'A certain western barbarian has entered our frontiers, calling himself a *śramaṇa*. His bearing and dress are unorthodox; the matter calls for investigation.'

"Ch'üan said: 'Of old, Han Ming Ti dreamed of a god called Buddha. Very likely what this man practises is in some way connected with that.' He summoned Hui to an interview, asking: 'What supernatural proofs have you?'

Hui replied: 'The remains of the Tathāgata have made light of a thousand years. The bones [and other] relics that He left are unlimited in their divine effulgence. Long ago King Aśoka erected *stūpas* to the number of 84,000. It is when *stūpas* and temples are plentiful that the doctrines bequeathed to us are made manifest.'

"Ch'uan thought this mere grandiloquence, and so said: 'If you can get a relic, I shall build a *stūpa* for you; but if all this is humbug, the law of the realm will have a penalty for it.'

"Hui asked for a week's grace, telling his followers: 'The success or failure of the Dharma hangs on this one chance. If we cannot be wholly true to it today, what can we hope to gain later?'

"So all purified themselves in a quiet chamber, and set a bronze phial on a small table, [before which] they burned incense in worship and made their supplications. The week passed and all was quiet, with no response. They asked for a second week, with the same result. Ch'üan said: 'This is truly preposterous, and I'm just about ready to punish you'; but when Hui begged for one more week, he gave in. Hui told his disciples: 'There is a saying of Confucius: "With King Wen dead, is not *wen*, true culture, lodged

[1] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 325a–326.

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here in me?"[2] The Dharma-spirit is answering and descending; it is we who are impotent to attract it. There is no need for the king's law; we must vow to kill ourselves [if we fail].' At nightfall on the third seventh day nothing had been seen, and fear and trembling prevailed. Then as the fifth watch began, a tinkling sound was suddenly heard inside the phial; and when Hui went to see, he actually found a relic there. On the morrow it was offered to the king, with the whole court assembled to witness. A five-colored flame shone dazzlingly above the phial. When Ch'üan took the phial and emptied it into a bronze basin, that shattered where the relic struck it. The king rose in reverent amazement, saying: 'This is a rare good omen!'

"Hui then came forward and said: 'Do not think that the awesome divinity of a relic is limited to the attribute of light. The fires [that consume the universe at the end of] a cosmic cycle cannot burn it; an adamantine mace cannot smash it.' Then the king ordered that it be tested, and Hui again prayed, saying: 'When the cloud of the Dharma is overhead, all living creatures look up for its moisture. I beg that once again this divine vestige will condescend to show more widely its awesome power.'

"So the relic was set on top of an iron anvil, and a strong man was made to strike at it. The anvil was completely shattered, while the relic was uninjured. Ch'üan in great delight paid reverence to it, and proceeded to have a pagoda erected. Since this was the beginning of Buddist temples [there], it was known as Chien-ch'u-ssu, the Founding Temple."

2. The biography continues to describe the disfavor into which Buddhism fell again with the accession of the last ruler of Wu, the cruel and dissolute Sun Hao (r. 264–280). Favoring instead a "licentious cult" – a form of popular Taoism? – he wished to burn down the temple. His courtiers dissuaded him, fearing some sort of supernatural vengeance. First a royal emissary and then the prince himself were worsted in theological debates with Hui. "But Hao, though he heard the true Dharma, was too stupid and violent by nature to be able to master his wrongdoing. Later on he sent some of his household troops into the rear of the palace to set the park in order, and [these men] found in the earth a golden image several feet high. They presented it to Hao, who had it taken to a privy and bathed in excrement. He and his courtiers took this as a great joke; but before long his body broke out in great boils, and his private parts gave him such pain that his 'howls reached the heavens.' The Grand Historiographer's prognostication was that he must have offended some great deity. In consequence, offerings were made in the various pagan shrines; but for a long time he grew no better. One of the girls of his harem had formerly been a Buddhist, and so inquired whether His Highness had gone into the Buddhist temple to ask for better fortune. Hao raised his head to ask if the Buddha-deity was a great one; the girl replied that He was. Hao's mind at last cleared, and he fully explained why he had thought as he did. The girl thereupon brought the image into the hall, bathed it several dozen times in scented warm water, burned incense and confessed her sins. Hao knocked his head against his pillow, charging himself as a criminal."

In Tao-hsüan's *San Pao Kan T'ung Lu*, composed a century or so later than the *Kao Seng Chuan*, the incident involving Sun Hao is retold as the second item in a collection of wonder-working images.[3] As is often the case, the later version is an improved one, more edifying and padded with more circumstantial details. Now the image's origin is explained:

"It had been made by King Aśoka at the outset of the Chou era, to ward off evil influences

[2] Quoted from the *Lun Yü*, ix, 5. In the translation by Legge, *Confucian Analects*, p. 217 (in his *Chinese Classics*, Oxford, 1893), *wen* is rendered freely "the cause of truth."

[3] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 413c.

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from the river metropolis. Of that we may be sure because in Ch'in, Han, and Wei there was as yet no Buddhist Dharma south of the river; so how could an image have been buried there during that period?"

The climax of the indignities wreaked on the image is now made to occur on the Buddha's birthday, the eighth day of the fourth month; when instead of bathing it with proper reverence the prince is said to have urinated on its head. Finally the ceremonial expiation is performed in Tao-hsüan's story not by a harem girl but by the great monk Hui himself, hurriedly summoned to the palace.

The reader will meet several other "Aśokan images" in the following chapters; and unless he can think like a Buddhist in the centuries of naive faith, will doubtless dismiss all the claims together as an outrage to common-sense. Of all the group, Sun Hao's golden statue has the least historical standing. The others had at any rate careers after they were found, standing for generations in famous temples and often being copied because of their age and sanctity. The Wu image is never mentioned again, except in one instance as little convincing as the rest of its story. As we shall see below, Tao-hsüan claims that it was rediscovered in 405, under a new set of miraculous circumstances; and so enters it a second time in his list, as no. 11 (my Sung entry 1).

CHIN

A. D. 265–420

1. One of the first missionaries to import a great quantity of Buddhist writings to China was a Yüeh-chih by race, from the vicinity of Tun-huang, who took as a monk the Sanskrit name Dharmarakṣa. His biography in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, i, says that during the reign of the first Chin Emperor, Wu (r. 265–290) he went with his teacher to the West, traversed many realms, and learned thirty-six languages in the course of collecting a rich scriptural library.[1] The reason for his journey is stated: "Although temples and shrines with their pictures and images were venerated in the capital and other cities, yet the *vaipulya sūtras* and those of profound meaning were still being hoarded away beyond the Pamirs."[2]

2. An unlikely entry in the thirteenth century *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi*, xxxvi, records that in 266 the scholar-courtier Hsün Hsü "made twelve gilded images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas at Lo-yang. These emitted a great radiance, and the townsfolk in great crowds vied with each other to pay homage."[3]

I have found no earlier substantiation for this statement. A seventh century Buddhist tract that presents the case against Taoism, the *Pien Cheng Lun*, contains a chapter reminding its readers of the high favors shown to the foreign religion by the great of the land in every dynasty. For the Chin a group of four officials is named who distinguished themselves as temple-builders and image-makers; Hsün Hsü is not among them.[4] Nothing of the sort is recorded in his

[1] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 326c. Dharmarakṣa's name was either rendered phonetically in the Chinese texts, or was translated as Chu Fa-hu.

[2] A *vaipulya sūtra* is one distinguished by richness of imaginative construction and luxuriant verbiage.

[3] *Daizōkyō*, IL, p. 338b.

[4] See Chin entries 30, 31.

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biography in the Chin history (though that alone is not a telling argument, since Chinese lay historians were usually unsympathetic to Buddhism).[5]

The claim must have been built up on the basis of a story told in the mid sixth century description of the Northern Wei temples of Lo-yang, the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, i.[6] We read there that in the vicinity of a nunnery called Chao-i-ssu stood the mansion of a certain Tuan Hui, a district magistrate. "The ringing of a bell was continually heard underground and from time to time a five-colored radiance became visible, lighting up the buildings. Hui was so curious that he finally had an excavation made at the place from which the light came, and found a gilded image about three feet high, with two Bodhisattvas. On the pedestal was an inscription saying: 'Chin, T'ai-chih second year [266], fifth month and fifteenth day; made by the *Tai-chung Chung-shu-chien* Hsün Hsü.' Hui eventually gave up his mansion to be turned into [a temple called] Kuang-ming-ssu; people at the time all said that that was where Hsün Hsü's mansion had been. On a later occasion a thief tried to make off with the statue, upon which it and the two Bodhisattvas all cried out together. The thief was so terrified at their response that he fell in a dead swoon; and so was captured by the monks who came when they heard the statue's cry."

We shall meet several reports of this type, in which the miraculously-found image is inscribed with the name of an historic figure. Some of them may be authentic; but even if no such event had ever happened, the story-type might well have been invented to satisfy the Chinese demand for roots in the past.

Several miraculous finds of a more spectacular sort are associated with the religious career of a wandering, penitent monk called Hui-ta. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, xii, tells that he had originally been a hunter in north China named Liu Sa-ho, who had died suddenly and then had come back to life with the torments of Hell imprinted on his memory; he had been told there that he might escape them, however, if he paid for his sins by seeking out and worshipping certain works of King Aśoka in China.[7] The rest of the "biography" merits translation in full. Most of it concerns us directly, and the whole illustrates to perfection the happy credulity of the age.

"In the Ning-k'ang era of the Chin [373–375] he reached the capital. Just before that time His Imperial Majesty Chien Wen [r. 371–372] had had a three-storeyed pagoda built at Ch'ang-kan-ssu, which after its completion poured forth light every night.[8] Hui-ta climbed onto the city wall to see, and observed that the tip of the spire alone had an unusual color. He went thither to pay worship, and every morning and

[5] *Chin Shu*, xxxix, p. 4vff. H. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London and Shanghai, 1898, no. 806.

[6] *Daizōkyō*, LI, pp. 1003c–1004a. This version of the story recurs in *Fo Tsu TC*, xxxviii; *Daizōkyō*, IL, p. 355b.

[7] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 409b–410a.

[8] The 19th century study on "Temples of the Southern Dynasties," *Nan Ch'ao Ssu K'ao*, by Ch'ü Hung-chi assembles in *chüan* ii information from various sources on Ch'ang-kan-ssu. A note locates the monastery in hilly country south of Nanking, a *ch'ang-kan* being a dialect phrase for "ravine." The site had first been used in the Three Kingdoms period by a nun for her retreat. Monks assembled there at the beginning of the Chin. When that dynasty lost North China and retreated to the Yang-tzu, the proximity of the monastery to the new capital won it imperial patronage. Chien Wen Ti gave the place a three-storeyed pagoda in the 370's; and another was erected in 391 to honor Liu Sa-ho's discovery, as our text shows, by Hsiao Wu Ti. Wu Ti of the Liang, most pious of the southern rulers, heaped special favors on the old temple, enlarging its pagodas and taking the opportunity to open and inspect the famous Aśokan reliquary. (See Liang entry 14). With the defeat of the Ch'en, when Nanking relapsed to the status of a provincial city, the site was left deserted and in ruins. Tao-hsüan, giving a summary of Ch'ang-kan-ssu history in his *Chi Shen Chou SPKTL*, i (*Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 405b–406a), tells that when he was a monk of Jih-yen-ssu at Ch'ang-an, under the Sui, he remedied that temple's lack of relics by leading a party to Nanking to exhume and carry off the Ch'ang-kan-ssu set. When Jih-yen-ssu was abandoned shortly after, at the fall of the Sui, the relics were again moved, to the T'ang Ch'ung-i-ssu, where they were placed under a pagoda southwest of the Buddha hall. The high priests of the South continued to believe that it was not the true Aśokan relics that had been removed; and Tao-hsüan admits that the original site was still favored by supernatural manifestations.

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night made his prayer; until one night he saw that from time to time a light was coming from underneath the spire. When he told, an excavation was begun; at a depth of ten feet or so they discovered three stone tablets. Inside the lid of the central one was an iron coffer, and in that a silver coffer, which in turn held one of gold. Within the last were three relics, and in addition a nail and a hair several feet long, which when stretched out would curl again in a spiral form, all of these glowing with light and color. This had been one of the 84,000 *stūpas* erected by King Aśoka at the time of King Ching of the Chou [r. 519–475 B. C.].[9] Religious and laity were overjoyed at the miracle. West of the old *stūpa* they set up another pagoda spire to house the relics. In [391] this was enlarged to a three-storeyed form by Hsiao Wu [Ti]."

3. The biography continues:

"In the [326–334] era of the Chin, the Prefect of T'an-yang, Kao Li,[10] had a gilded image dug out of the bay near the Chang-hou Bridge. It lacked aureole and pedestal, but was fashioned with the greatest skill. In front it had a Sanskrit inscription reading: 'Made by the fourth daughter of King Aśoka.' Li carried the image back to the Ch'ang-kan landing; but there his oxen refused to go farther, in spite of all that human strength could do. In the end he gave in, and went straight to Ch'ang-kan-ssu [with it]. A year or so later, an ocean fisherman, one Chang Hsi-shih, found a bronze lotus pedestal floating on the water of an estuary. He picked it up and sent it in to the district seat, whence it was forwarded to the Throne. The Emperor ordered that it be affixed to the image's feet, where it fitted perfectly. Later five Western monks visited Li, and told him: 'Of old in India there was a royal Aśokan image that later went to Yeh [in Honan], and during the wars was put for safe-keeping in the river bank.[11] When royal authority had been reestablished it was sought for, but had disappeared. Recently in a dream we were notified that the image had emerged at the east end of the [Yang-tzu] River and had been secured by one Kao Li. So we have travelled far over mountains and seas, hoping for one sight of it in which we may worship.' Li consequently took them to Ch'ang-kan-ssu. When the five saw the image they wept tears of joy, while it emitted a light [that filled] the interior of the hall. [The pilgrims] told that there had originally been a round halo, which now was in some faraway place and should be looked for and brought thither. In [371] under the Chin, a pearl-diver of Ho-p'u-hsien in Chiao-chou [i. e. Tonkin], one Tung Tsung-chih, found a Buddha halo on the sea bottom. The Imperial Commissioner forwarded it to the Throne. The Chin Emperor, Chien Wen, ordered that it be bestowed on the image; when hung from the socket (on the back) it proved to have an identical lustre. Thus after a period of four decades [a series of] widely separated auspicious events made [the image] complete with halo and pedestal."

4. To continue:

"Hui-ta's enthusiasm was doubled by the miracles of the *stūpa* and statues, so he journeyed eastward to Wu-hsien [Soochow] to adore the stone images. These last had been found in [313] as the Western Chin regime was approaching its end, floating in the Hu-tu estuary of the Wu-

[9] The *Kao Seng Chuan* postscript, p. 413a, places Aśoka "a century and more" after the Nirvāṇa. *Li-tai San Pao Chi*, i, p. 23b–c, gives a precise interval; the King came to the throne 116 years after the Nirvāṇa, which occurred in 609 B. C. (i. e. in 494).

[10] Concerning this functionary, the biographical dictionary *Chung-kuo Jen Ming Ta Tz'u-tien*, Shanghai, 1933, p. 882c, tells only that he was renowned as a paragon of filial piety, and held high office under the Chin. The title given him here presumably meant that he was governor of the capital district (as had been the case under the Wu kingdom at the same site; see the gazetteer *Ti Ming Ta Tz'u-tien*, Shanghai, 1931, p. 109a).

[11] See Minor Northern States entry 1, for another reference to the image at Yeh.

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sung River.[12] The fishermen thought that they were marine deities, and so [as they rowed out] to get them had sorcerers utter incantations; but wind and waves rose to such a height that they were terrified and turned back. There happened also to be certain followers of Huang-[ti] and Lao-[tzu], who said that they were spirits from the Master of Heaven; but when they too went out the billows raged as before. Then a certain resident of Wu-hsien, a Buddhist named Chu Ying, heard [of the matter] and rejoiced, saying: 'The Supreme Enlightenment is about to descend!' So he purified himself by fasting, together with the nun Pai of Tung-yün-ssu and several other believers. [The party] then went to the Hu-tu estuary, where they bowed their heads and with the utmost reverence sang the praise of the Most Holy. At that wind and tide were stilled; in the distance they saw two beings floating in on the river. When they arrived, these proved to be stone images with inscriptions on their backs, one reading 'Vipaśyin' and the other 'Kāśyapa.'[13] [The statues] were carried back to be installed at T'ung-hsüan-ssu. The gentry and commoners of Wu were amazed by the miracle, and were converted in great numbers. Hui-ta remained at T'ung-hsüan-ssu for three years, all in all, carrying on his devotions day and night without flagging."

5. And further:

"Then he went on to Hui-chi [in Chekiang] to worship the *stūpa* of Mou-[hsien]. That also had been built by King Aśoka, but with the passage of time [only] underbrush marked the existence of its basement. Hui-ta's heart was noble and the workings of his mind were disciplined; and thus it was that he saw a divine radiance flaming out. In consequence he set [the place] in order, erecting a niche of stones. The flocks of birds did not dare to settle there, and the hunters and fishermen in the vicinity of the temple never caught anything. Religious and laity were moved by the news and received a great renovation of faith. Later on the military governor of the district, Meng I, made further additions and improvements. Thus Hui-ta went east and west, everywhere worshipping with the deepest reverence and several times bringing wonders to light. Utterly hardworking and truly fervent, he remained so to the end of his days; though what became of him thereafter is not known."

Later accounts of the last three of Hui-ta's objects of devotion add materially to their interest. The Mou-hsien *stūpa* — which concerns us because at a later date its name and fame were somehow transferred to a small reliquary, covered with Buddhist reliefs — has so lengthy a history that I have transferred my treatment of it to an appendix.[14] As to the miraculously-found statues:

(3) The story of Kao Li's image is retold in the Liang history's section on the kingdom of Cambodia. We learn there in addition that the foreign inscription could be understood only by a missionary from Central India, the high priest Gunabhadra.[15] Moreover:

"A monk of Wa-kuan-ssu, Hui-yüan, wanted to make a copy of the image. The prior, Seng-shang, feared that the color of the gold might be damaged, and so told Yüan that he might do so only if he were able to make the Buddha emit a radiance surrounding His body, and face to the west. Hui-yüan prayed with the utmost fervor,

[12] "Wu-hsien" is a reference to Soochow in Kiangsu. The Wu-sung, "Soochow Creek," is an outlet of the "great lake," T'ai-hu, which empties into the Hwangpoo at Shanghai. In retelling the story in *Hsü Kao Seng Chuan*, xiv, p. 531b, Tao-hsüan locates the statues' eventual resting-place, T'ung-hsüan-ssu, in Soochow.

[13] Respectively the first and last of the six Buddhas predating Śākyamuni in the group of Seven Buddhas.

[14] See below, pp. 270ff.

[15] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 5r. Gunabhadra's life in *Kao Seng Chuan*, iii, pp. 344–345, says nothing about this incident. He was a well-known missionary from Central India, who took the sea route east via Ceylon, reached Canton in 435, was long occupied in making translations at the Sung capital, and died in 468.

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and that night the statue actually turned on its throne and did give forth a radiance that surrounded its body, as it faced west. On the morrow, therefore, he received permission to make his copy.

"In the Ta-tung era [of Liang, 535–545], when the relic was extracted from the old [Ch'ang-kan-ssu] pagoda, an order was issued that the land alongside the temple, on which several hundred houses stood, should be cleared so that the temple boundaries could be extended. Numerous buildings were erected, until the pavilions and so on that surrounded the auspicious image were the last word in magnificence. A picture of the image and various scriptural illustrations were done by Chang [Seng]-yu of Wu, who was supreme at the time in the art of painting."

For Chang, see my entry no. 24 under the Liang.

Tao-hsüan, in whose corpus Kao Li's image is the fifth entry, also tells the anecdote about the would-be copyist.[16] He completes the statue's history as follows:

"In the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang [502–549], seven angel musicians and two Bodhisattvas were added to the aureole.

"Under the Ch'en, in [558], when the troops under Wang Lin were camped at Chiang-p'u, and headed toward Chin-ling [i. e. Nanking], Wu Ti ordered a move upstream.[17] As the army was setting out, the image's body shook and would not be stilled; the phenomenon was verified when the Emperor was informed and had an investigation made. Then all of a sudden, before any weapons were crossed, Lin's hordes scattered. He himself had to make off at a gallop to the North, and thereafter the upriver country was pacified. To all this the movement of the Countenance had borne witness. In the [560 to 565] era, again, when a rising occurred among the troops in the southeast, the Emperor prayed before the image that the murderers might be repulsed. When his words were finished, a light broke out over the building; and it was not long before Eastern Yang, Min, and Yüeh were all quieted.[18]

"The monk Hui-hsiao, who was then in charge of Ch'ang-kan-ssu — a man as active as the wind in conversion — erected a storeyed pavilion [to house the statue]. The decorations were the last word in originality, while the view from the top was a supreme [experience]. At the outset of the [583–586] era a square pedestal was added [to the statue]. Thus from the Chin dynasty right down through the Ch'en, monarchs and subjects through five regimes never failed to turn toward it in reverence. In times of severe drought the image would be invited into the palace, being borne there in the imperial litter. The Emperor would anoint it with oil; and then while the monks were in the midst of dealing with the problem, a downpour would come, regularly and without fail.

[16] *Chi Shen Chou SPKTL*, ii, p. 414a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii, p. 383c–384a. Tao-hsüan tells the story again in i, p. 411a, with different details and a date of 405. The prior, refusing the request, was that night rebuked in a dream by a giant. When Hui-yüan had made his copy he put a relic inside its *uṣṇīṣa*. "The reason why images from the West emit light is usually that they contain a relic."

[17] Wang Lin's life is recorded by biographies in *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xxxii, and *Nan Shih*, lxiv; resumé in Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 2198. A former loyalist general at the end of the Liang, who refused to accept the Ch'en regime and rose against it in 555. After initial successes he was routed and driven to take refuge in the North. As a turncoat he led Northern Ch'i armies against the Ch'en until he was captured and executed in 573.

[18] The reference here must be to the series of regional uprisings that followed the accession of the second Ch'en ruler in 560, growing out of Wang Lin's earlier revolt. The earliest rebel was a certain Liu I, at Hang-chou in Chekiang, who had previously been valuable enough to the Ch'en house to be given an imperial princess for his son's wife. Liu drew in a local war-lord in Kiangsi, Chou Ti. After some successes both were defeated badly, and fled south into Fukien, where they were received and aided by Liu's son-in-law, the Governor of Min-chou, Ch'en Pao-ying. In 564 an imperial general captured Ch'en and Liu and sent them to be executed in the capital. A year later Chou was surprised and beheaded in a mountain hide-out, and his head was sent to Nanking, to be exposed for three days on the main city bridge. See *Ch'en Shu*, iii, pp. 1v–6c; and their biographies in *ibid.*, xxxv, and in *Nan Shih*, lxxx.

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"There were wild tales in circulation that the Ch'en regime faced a crisis in its fortunes, when in [588 the statue] turned toward the west, and though it was set straight returned there. This was duly reported, and the Emperor invited it to the Hall of State, where a maigre feast and a ritual circumambulation were held. The image had a precious tiara decorated with pearls that weighed perhaps three catties, to which had been added a cap of brocade. That night the jewelled tiara was found hanging from its hand, while the cap was still on its head. At the news the Emperor burned incense and prayed: 'If misfortune threatens the realm, let the tiara be removed once more, as a sign thereof.' The tiara was put back; and the next morning, to the dismay of ruler and subjects, it was found doffed and hanging as before.

"When the Sui had overcome the Ch'en and the whole nation once more bared its head in reverence toward the west,[19] as the image had foretold, the founder of the new dynasty was told about it, and ordered that it be welcomed to the capital. There it was adored in the imperial palace, and the sovereign stood continually in attendance upon it, until he issued an order that ran: 'We are old, and cannot bear to stand for long at a time. It is ordered that the proper authorities[20] shall make a seated statue of identical form.' The original, standing image was then sent to Ta-hsing-shan-ssu.[21] When it first arrived there, the size of the hall did not permit it to face south, so that it was set toward the north. On the morrow it was found right on the southern axis. The brethren marvelled, but turned it back to face north. The next day again it was on the southern axis. At that all were stricken with shame, and confessed themselves at fault for slighting it.

"At the present time [the image] is to be seen very frequently in painted copies. I have assembled this record by culling from various accounts. That a number of points are not developed is proof that I have not added any embellishments."

(4) The story of the floating stone Buddhas is retold with literary flourishes in a stele record composed by the Liang prince who became Emperor Chien Wen (r. 549–551).[22] An added detail now enhances the images' impressiveness: "Later there came a certain foreign monk, Shih-fa-k'ai,[23] who said that the various holy [books] of his land told of there being two stone images and [a?] *stūpa* of King Aśoka in the East, and promised that he who could go thither and worship them in person would obtain remission of countless sins and deliverance from the Three Roads. He adored them, and then went away." The stele also notes that in 530 an imperial order was issued to equip the statues with bronze aureoles, one being nine feet high and the other 8.5 feet.

Tao-hsüan, in whose corpus the statues stand third, quotes largely from Liu Sa-ho's "biography."[24] A few interpolations heighten the mood of marvel. The statues were seven feet high; their inscriptions were clearly legible, though no reign date was given. At first they could not be moved, but when addressed by further prayers, rose up as if on wings. Shih-fa-k'ai reappears

[19] I. e. toward the Sui capitals, Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an.

[20] I follow here the reading in *Fa Yüan CL*, p. 384b. Tao-hsüan's text has survived with *yu*, "right," instead of *yu*, "to have," making what looks like a title, "the Director of the Right" (p. 414c).

[21] A temple erected at Ch'ang-an in 582 by the first Sui sovereign, which became the greatest monument of religious architecture carried out under that dynasty, and remained one of the principal metropolitan establishments under the T'ang. For further details, see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 3215–3216.

[22] Quoted by Ōmura, pp. 118–119, from the Ch'ing encyclopedia, *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*, 497, p. 14r; section on miracles, *Shen-i Tien*, xc., "Buddhist Images."

[23] I have found no mention of "Shih-fa-k'ai" outside of this story. His counterpart, with some other name, is a typical feature of the Aśoka image legend.

[24] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 413c–414a; repeated in *Fa Yüan Cl*, xiii (*Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 383b–c). The latter in xii, p. 379c, summarizes the story, and then goes on to add the sequel found in my Southern Ch'i entry 10. Other, briefer references to the two statues are cited by Ōmura, p. 118.

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under the name "Fa-yüan from the West;" and then Tao-hsüan adds: "There is another story that tells of twelve Indian monks having brought the images to the district, where they stood on the water without sinking or moving. Report having been made to the Throne, it was ordered that they be permitted to remain in Wu-chün. In recent times the Princess of Hsien-yang, at the capital, heard of these auspicious monuments and so sent men to T'ung-hsüan-ssu to make drawings of them; and from the latter copies were issued at the capital, so that their forms might be made known."[25]

The life of a prior of T'ung-hsüan-ssu included in Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies," a certain Hui-chün (564–630), adds a brief note to the history of the stone pair:[26]

"From the Chin dynasty on through the Ch'en they vouchsafed a great number of miracles. At the end of the Sui, in the whirlwinds of war, the jade and stone [treasures of the temple] were all lost, and the holy likenesses [portrayed by] the two statues were exposed to the assaults of the elements." Hui-chün, asking himself how a monk could find peace while the Buddhas had no hall, dedicated himself to restoring the monastery.

6. The *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü*, a collection of anecdotes and conversations compiled by a nephew of the first Sung ruler, one Liu I-ching (403–444), contains two references to representations of Śākyamuni entering Nirvāṇa. The first tells that "Master Yü [i. e. Yü Liang, the loyalist general, who died in 340] once entered a pagoda, where he saw a reclining Buddha [figure]. His comment was:[27] 'Here is one who wore himself out leading [others] across the bridge [to salvation]': a remark that became famous in his day."

The second reference describes for us a visit to a temple made by the high official Ku Ho (288–351) with his two small grandsons.[28] "They saw there an image of the Buddha entering Nirvāṇa, while some of his disciples wept and others did not. Ho asked the boys to explain the difference. The nine year old Chang Hsüan said: 'Those who weep are the relatives; the others are not.' The seven year old Ku Fu said: 'That's not so. It is because they have lost all their emotions that some do not weep. Those who do, have not reached the same stage.'"

7. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies" contains a life of the monk Chih-chou (556–622) of Nan-wu-chou, who made a name for himself as a builder and embellisher of temples.[29] We learn, for example, that on his own account he made a sixteen-foot image of Maitreya, in lacquer, with accessory guardians. These were probably done under the Sui, and so do not concern us directly. More pertinent is the following. "Also he brought back to his temple the seven shrines[30] with clay figures that had been made for the Chin dynasty Director of Works Ho Ch'ung. With the passage of time, their holy forms had fallen into dilapidation; he had them lacquered over, repainted, and embellished with great richness, so that they might open the way to faith and make manifest the Dharma."

Presumably the seven shrines housed the Seven Buddhas of the Past. The biography of Ho Ch'ung (293–347) given in the Chin history is unusual in corroborating the minister's piety, presumably because the evidence could be presented in a way unfavorable to Buddhism:[31]

[25] I have been unable to locate this lady, who was presumably a daughter of T'ai Tsung. Her title may have been wrongly transcribed; or perhaps Tao-hsüan gave her a fief from which she was later promoted.

[26] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 535a.

[27] For this text I have used the edition of the Kanezawa Bunko, Tōkyō, 1929; reference here is to i, l, on "Sayings" (p. 32). Yü Liang's biography is given in *Chin Shu*, lxxiii, pp. 1 ff., and is summarized by Giles, no. 2526.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 35. Ku Ho's biography appears in *Chin Shu*, lxxxiii, pp. 1–2.

[29] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 580a–c.

[30] For this phrase see Quotations, B.

[31] *Chin Shu*, lxxvii, pp. 31 ff. Reference is on p. 4r.

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"By nature he loved the writings of Śākyamuni and took reverential care of Buddhist temples. The charity that he bestowed upon the brotherhood, on hundreds of occasions, squandered millions without causing him any regrets."

The account concludes by quoting two joking comments by his contemporaries, one of which refers to his zeal in "making the Buddha."

8. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, v, contains a life of the monk Chu Fa-k'uang, a native of Chekiang (327–402), who devoted his career particularly to the Lotus and Pure Land cults.[32] His first headquarters was a cave shrine; he is remembered as having wandered through the famous mountains of his province in the 360's, searching out their beauty spots (like many of his secular contemporaries). Emperor Chien Wen sought his aid against the threat posed by a maleficent planet, which thereafter soon disappeared. Finding many sufferers from an epidemic in his travels in the east, he gave what aid he could by comfort and healing spells, "going among the villages to rescue those who were in peril. When he left the district city to live at the Ch'ang-yüan monastery, sick people in great numbers prayed to him with beneficial results. A man who could see demons said that when K'uang went about he always had several tens of demon deities guarding him in front and behind. At that time the *śramaṇa* Chu Tao-lin was making an image of Amitāyus; and K'uang led those whose *karma* gave them the privilege, in raising a great hall [for it]. A story tells that while they were felling the timbers a drought came, which he dispelled by his incantations."

Note that this is our first reference to an image of the Buddha of the Western Paradise, referred to here (as almost always in the Six Dynasties texts) by the translated name Wu-liang-shou, "Immeasurable Life."

9. The celebrated monk Chih-tun (314–366), whose metaphysical prowess led him to be compared with the Indian doctors Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghoṣa, and who at the same time was on friendly terms with all the notables of his day, was the author of several literary flights included in the T'ang Buddhist anthology, *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*. One of these is a panegyric on an image of Amitāyus Buddha.[33] Chih-tun paraphrases the familiar Paradise *sūtras* to describe the beauties of that Buddha's kingdom, where new souls are born in spotless purity from lotuses in the sacred lake; its jewelled palaces, its wondrous gardens and waterways, its musical sounds and sweet odors. "Hastening in his heart toward that divine land, for which he dared not hope, he therefore [had] craftsmen depict and set up the divine symbol. [Now] he gazes up in reverence at the towering form; but for things that are of Heaven's stuff, words of praise fall short."[34]

Presumably he was writing of an image that he had made for one of the two temples that he founded: either the one in Wu nicknamed Chih-shan-ssu, or one organized after his move to "the Stone City Mountain," Shih-ch'eng Shan, in Chekiang, under the name Hsi-kuang-ssu.

One of Chih-tun's other compositions in the anthology is a panegyric to an image of Śākyamuni: "Majesty measured at sixteen feet, the body adorned with a round nimbus. . . .the colorful loveliness of purple and gold."[35]

[32] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 357a. Sakaino, in *Shina Bukkyō Seishi*, p. 459, suggests that both Fa-k'uang and Tao-lin, in choosing the Buddhist pseudo-surname Chu, may have meant to show that they were followers of the famous Central Asian translator "Chu Fa-hu," i. e. Dharmarakṣa.

[33] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 196b. Note that here the Buddha's name is rendered phonetically in the later standard way, as O-mi-t'o, a usage overshadowed through most of the Six Dynasties period by the translation Wu-liang-shou. Chih-tun's career is recorded in *Kao Seng Chuan*, iii; *ibid.*, L, pp. 348b–349c; his name appears frequently in non-Buddhist writings of the time (e. g. the *Shih Shou Hsin Yü*).

[34] For the characters rendered "divine symbol" and "towering form" see Quotations, C.

[35] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 195c.

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His selections end with a group of eleven shorter odes of praise to various "Bodhisattvas"; the list begins with Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, and Vimalakīrti, and then runs into obscurer names. Here there is no reference to images.

The "Biographies" contain a life of the recluse Yü Fa-lan, who sickened and died at Chiao-chou (i.e. the far southeast coast) at the start of a voyage to the West to seek new knowledge. His disciple and fellow-traveller Yü Tao-sui met the same fate.[36] Chih-tun is said to have set up a statue of the first pilgrim, and composed a eulogy for it. For a portrait of the second done by order of his friend Ch'ih Chao, he wrote an inscription.[37]

10. The *Kao Seng Chuan* tells of another hermit-pilgrim, K'ang Fa-lang, who on his way westward came on an old temple in the wilds, filthy and almost deserted.[38] He spent a week cleaning it, and suddenly found it miraculously transfigured. "After his death his image was carved out of wood, and was worshipped morning and night." His eulogy was written by the mid fourth century *litterateur* Sun Ch'o.[39]

11. The great Tao-an was a Northerner who began religious life under the missionary "Fo-t'u-teng" at the capital of the Later Chao regime in Honan.[40] When that dynasty broke up in 352, he emigrated with his band of four hundred disciples to Hsiang-yang in Hupeh, seeking a more peaceful environment. At this point in his career the *Kao Seng Chuan* account runs:[41]

"Finding that Pai-ma-ssu was too confining, An organized another monastery which he called T'an-chi-ssu, making use of the mansion of Chang Yin of Ch'ing-ho for the purpose. He was further aided by wealthy patrons to build a five-storeyed pagoda and construct four hundred monks' cells. The Governor of Liang-chou, Yang Hung-chang, sent him 10,000 catties of bronze to be used in making the pagoda spire disks. An replied: 'The disks are already completed. I should like to turn this bronze over to cast an image. Do you approve?' Chung was delighted, and reverently assented. All joined their offerings to assist in completing the Buddha image, and so the sixteen feet of radiant body-signs and the divine lesser marks were clearly manifested. Every night the statue would emit a light that completely illuminated the buildings; and later on it went out by itself at night to Wan Shan [ten *li* to the northwest]. The villagers went to gaze and to worship it, and then took it back to the monastery. When An's great ambition was thus fulfilled, he said: 'I am ready to die any night.'"

Fu Chien (r. 357–358), ruler over the mushroom northern empire of Former Ch'in, "by personal emissary sent him an *i* foreign image seated with legs down, seven feet tall and covered with gold leaf; also a squatting gilded image, a Maitreya made of strung pearls, an icon embroidered in gold, and a woven icon."[42]

(The otherwise identical inventory of these gifts found in Tao-an's biography in the *Ming Seng Chuan*, v, uses a character that I render "gold plates" instead of "gold leaf." For the problem involved, see the chapter on materials.)[43]

"Whenever there was a lecture or assembly, the holy images would be set out. Banners and

[36] *Ibid.*, L, pp. 349c–350b.

[37] *Ibid.*, L, p. 350b. Ch'ih Chao's life in *Chin Shu*, lxvii, pp. 8vff., mentions his being a Buddhist and an intimate friend of Chih-tun. He reappears as a pious patron in Chin entry 15, p. 20 below.

[38] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 347b.

[39] Celebrated as a mountain-wanderer, his most successful poem being a *fu* on Mount T'ien-t'ai. Life in *Chin Shu*, lvi, pp. 7r–8v; summarized by Giles, no. 1801.

[40] See Minor Northern States entry 1.

[41] In v; *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 352b.

[42] For *i* see p. 2 above. Fu Chien captured him at Hsiang-yang in 379 and "invited" him to Ch'ang-an to be the abbot of "the Temple with the Five-storeyed [Pagoda]." On their relationship, see Sakaino, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–292; and L. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Hsien-hsien, 1923, II, pp. 492–493.

[43] See below, pp. 253ff. The *Ming Seng Chuan* fragment is in *Meisōden-shō*, p. 6v.

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(11) canopies would be hung up; festoons of beads would swing; everywhere would be incense smoke and flowers; so that those who mounted the steps and crossed the threshold were awe-struck and paid the utmost in devotion. The foreign bronze image was so archaic in form and workmanship that most people had no great respect for it. An said: 'The shape and the body-marks are excellent; the only fault is that the form of the *uṣṇīṣa* is incongruous.' So he ordered a disciple to fire and re-mould the *uṣṇīṣa*. At once a light flamed up with such brilliance that it filled the whole hall. On close inspection it was discovered that inside the *uṣṇīṣa* there was a relic. The brothers were all filled with consternation; but An said: 'The statue is already a wonder-working one, and will not be disturbed by re-casting.'"

The anthology *Kuang Hung Ming Chi* contains a long, highflown panegyric on Tao-an's image written by his greatest disciple, Hui-yüan.[44] We read that An, after long and reverent meditation, "finally ordered his followers to cast it as an image. Now form and principle are distinct, yet they pass one into the other as do steps into a highroad. The fine and the coarse are truly different, yet to the enlightened they also are interrelated. So it is that to represent a supernatural model prepares the heart for its final crossing [into salvation]. An iconographically-correct form divinely imitated opens the way to an understanding of all wisdom. It enables those who cherish the profound, to discern the invisible root in the disclosure of a leaf; and those wrapped up in the near, to construct for themselves a rewarding destiny for many aeons to come. Though the achievement was human, it is like Heaven's own art."

The image appears as the sixth in Tao-hsüan's corpus. He names it an Amitāyus, says that it was completed in 375, and adds the sort of details that we have learned to associate with him.[45] The statue on its walk to Wan Shan is now said to have left a footprint in the rock; and we learn that when it was met at night, emerging for a second time from the temple gates, the general wonder gave its home the nickname Chin-hsiang-ssu, the "Golden Image Temple." At this point an extra item of evidence is offered by the historical summary of good deeds in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii. A certain Ch'ih Hai, Governor of Yung-chou – i. e. the Hsiang-yang region – whose official biography speaks of him as a special favorite of Emperor Hsiao Wu (r. 373–396), and deals at length with his campaigns against the barbarian rulers of the North – is noted as a donor with this sentence: "Mi-t'o [Amitābha] appearing on a visit, he built the Golden Image Temple."[46] Here we see that local tradition seems to have explained the miraculous mobility of the statue by imagining it as entered and possessed by the divinity of the Buddha in person.

As to its subsequent history, Tao-hsüan continues:

"On the eighth day of the fourth month in [522, i.e. the Buddha's birthday] an imperial order was issued to cast a gilded bronze pedestal for it in the Chien-hsing Park, the height to be 5.9 feet and the breadth 9.8 feet. When this adornment was completed a party was sent up-river to welcome it and to support the Buddha's feet. A stele was erected to commemorate the good deed, its text being composed by Liu Hsiao-i and written down by Hsiao Tzu-yün,[47] which was renowned throughout the whole realm and is still in existence today.

"In the year [574] during the Northern Chou persecution, at the time when the Governor of Hsiang-[yang] was the Duke of T'ai-yüan,

[44] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 198b. For the text beginning "Now form and principle are distinct," see Quotations, D.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 414c–415b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii, and briefly retold in *Kuang Hung MC*, xv, and in *Hsü Kao SC*, xxix (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 384b, c; LII, p. 202b; and L, p. 693a, respectively).

[46] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 505a; *Chin Shu*, lxvii, p. 10r, v.

[47] Lived 492–553; son of a Ch'i imperial Prince. Biographies in *Liang Shu*, xxxv, pp. 3v–4v, and in *Nan Shih*, xlii, p. 7r; Giles', no. 719.

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State Museum, LUCKNOW.

Wang Ping,[48] an unbeliever, one Ch'ang-sun Che, was Deputy Military Governor of Shang-k'ai-fu. As soon as he heard of the wonder-working [image] he decided to destroy it. The men and women of the town and the secularized monks and nuns, when they learned of his intention to demolish it, filled the highways with their wailing. The sight of their overwhelming grief filled Che with spiteful anger, and he sent off his attendants posthaste with an order to smash [the statue] to pieces. First a hundred men were told to pull the head off with a rope; but for all their tugging it proved immovable. Che said that not enough care had been taken, and had his foremen add another hundred haulers. These had no more success than before, and it was the same when three hundred were added. Then in an overmastering fury Che got five hundred more to pull, and at last [the statue] toppled over. As the noise reechoed and the earth shook, the men were all terrified; only Che jumped with joy as he gave orders that it be melted down, raising his voice to call out cheerily. Then he leaped on his horse to tell the Governor. Before he had ridden a hundred paces he suddenly fell to the ground and lay there speechless, staring straight up, paralysed. By nightfall he was dead; and then it was the turn of the clerics and laity to call out cheerily.

"When the image was demolished they found an inscription under an arm-pit inside an overhanging fold of the garment, which read: 'Chin, T'ai-yüan nineteenth year, the cyclical position being *chia-wu* [394], on a day of the new moon; the *bhikṣu* Tao-an in the western suburb of Hsiang-yang has cast one gilded image of eighteen feet. The said image will be destroyed in three sexagenary cycles, i. e. 180 years." When they worked out the dates, its history tallied exactly; and so it was realized that the holy Tao-an had in good sooth made no vain record.

"At the present time the original establishment is known as Che-fa-ssu. The stone on which [the image] trod has been cut away and may still be seen.

"In the anarchy that broke out at the end of the Sui that area was held firmly from the start, the Warden of Hsiang-yang, Tou Lu-pao, maintaining control under Wang Shih-ch'ung.[49] A certain Dharma master of Che-fa-ssu called Hsien, who had the respect of gentry and commoners alike, on several occasions chided Lord Tou and bade him throw in his lot with the T'ang. Tou did not accede. Hsien had contacts with the people both inside and outside the city. The capital finally dispatched troops to Hsiang-yang. Tou held his ramparts against three unsuccesful assaults; and then, learning of Hsien's attitude, had him privily executed. As he was facing death Hsien said to a disciple, Su Fu-lou: 'I and your father saw the destruction of Master An's golden statue. From that time on it has been left with no successor. When I am gone, I trust in you to make one.' When the [T'ang] army stormed the city in [621] and Tou fell, he was sorry then that he had not taken Hsien's advice. The monk had been slain to no purpose, and unjustly; and [his death] had left none in [Tou's] domain who could speak to him with any effect.

"After the city had been pacified, Fu-lou gave

[48] A Wang Ping is named in *Chou Shu*, xviii, p. 3v, as the one son of a noted officer, Wang Ssu-cheng, who was captured by an Eastern army in 549 and ended his career in Northern Ch'i service. The father's biography in *Pei Shih*, lxii, names the son K'ang (the two characters are enough alike to explain a mis-transcription); and says that after Ssu-cheng's capture he inherited the fief of Duke of T'ai-yüan. A *Chou Shu* entry (in vi, p. 1r) for 575 notes that the Duke of T'ai-yüan, Wang K'ang, was that year made Governor-general of Hsiang-yang. In this detail, therefore, Tao-hsüan's story is borne out by history.

[49] A native of Turkestan, who won high rank under the Sui. In the last years of the dynasty as military governor of the capital he held out stoutly for a time against the rebels; but eventually declared himself an independent ruler. He was overthrown by the T'ang surge in 621. Biographies in *Pei Shih*, lxxix, pp. 5vff.; Old *T'ang Shu*, liv, pp. 1ff.; New *T'ang Shu*, lxxxv, pp. 1ff. Giles' no. 2222. See also W. Bingham, *The Fall of Sui and the Rise of T'ang*, Baltimore, 1941, p. 52 and Index.

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up his lay dress, and collected and sold the robes and monastic paraphernalia that had belonged to Hsien, [so that he might use the proceeds] to make a statue. He had no idea what model he should take, until in a dream he saw a Brahman priest who drew the form for him with his finger. Also an old man was discovered who possessed a painting [done from the original]. Using these as a model the image was made at the first casting, flawlessly. At the time of casting the sky darkened and clouds spread overhead, and there was a rain of flowers like plum-blossoms throughout the temple.

"Fu-lou had a native ingenuity and spent his own wealth freely; for his personal use he made a gilded bronze figure of Maitreya ten feet or so high. Later on he dreamed that Hsien was ordering him to make another Buddha image; so at Fan-yün-ssu he made a colossus 59 feet high, as I have set forth elsewhere.

"Of old at the beginning of the Sui, when [Yang] Chün, Prince Ch'in-hsiao, was Military Governor of Hsiang-yang,[50] he heard that Master An's ancient image was extremely unusual in form and workmanship, and so sent men to portray it. [That copy] was made at Yen-hsing-ssu in Ch'ang-an. On the night when it was first cast there was also a manifestation of celestial music, flowers, and so on. At present it is still visible there; i.e. at our Yung-t'ai-ssu, the name of which has [now] been changed to Wan-shan-ssu."

Much in Tao-hsüan's account is questionable. It seems likely that the statue was destroyed early in the sixth century, rather than during the Chou persecution (see my Liang entry no. 4). He gives two dates of manufacture, apparently without noticing the discrepancy; the later one, 399, is both obviously contrived and historically impossible, for Tao-an was captured by a Northern army at Hsien-yang in 319 and carried off to Fu Chien's court where he died in 385.[51] Finally, the image is more likely to have been a Maitreya than an Amitāyus; his biography says that "he often prayed before Maitreya with his disciples, to be reborn in Tuṣita."[52]

12. The *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, refers to Emperor Chien Wen (r. 371–372) as a maker of images, presumably because his commissions reached a new order of magnitude; his predecessors are named merely as temple builders.[53]

13. Tao-hsüan's tenth entry runs:[54] "In [377] the monk Chih Hui-hu made a sixteen-foot gilded image of Śākyamuni at Shao-ling-ssu in Wu-chün, doing the casting in a cave dug on the steep south side of the temple." Routine wonders accompanied its completion: particularly a white cloud that issued from the cave's mouth, containing a white dragon several hundred feet long, which adored the Buddha.

We shall meet this statue again in Sung entry 12.

14. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, v, contains a life of the monk Chu Tao-i (332–402), who was held in high favor by Chien Wen Ti.[55] On that Emperor's death in 372 he retired to the mountains to lead a life of austerity. A local potentate who had built a temple west of the district city invited him to be its prior. "Tao-i thereupon collected his monk's paraphernalia and went thither, where he made a gold plate with a thousand images on it."

This seems to be an early reference to the kind of embossed relief of which numerous T'ang

[50] Third son of the first Sui ruler; died in 600. Biographies in *Sui Shu*, xxxxv, pp. 5r–6r, and in *Pei Shih*, lxxi, p. 8r–v. Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[51] See note 43 above.

[52] Sakaino, *op. cit.*, pp. 425ff., enlarges on this preference for the cult of Maitreya. See also the section on Maitreya in my chapter on the iconography of the Bodhisattvas, p. 219.

[53] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 502c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, c (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 1025b).

[54] *Ibid.*, LII, pp. 416c–417a.

[55] *Ibid.*, L, p. 357b.

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examples remain.[56] The work probably celebrated the "Thousand Buddhas," an early Mahāyāna attempt to express the multiplicity of Buddhas.

15. With the career of the famous sculptor-painter Tai K'uei (–395), Chinese Buddhist art scored two new triumphs. Sculpture in especial profited by his genius to achieve a new beauty and expressiveness; and at the same time won – at least for a while – a new degree of social respectability. In the traditional pattern, the craftsman had always been an inferior. K'uei, like his contemporaries in painting, demonstrated that a great artist could also be a great gentleman. In painting the lesson was never forgotten. In the more laborious art of sculpture the victory over caste prejudice was a more precarious one, and K'uei's example benefited only his own son, Yung. No subsequent sculptors enjoyed anything like the same total approval. Only a few, indeed, won recognition even as names. The vast majority, like their craft ancestors from time immemorial, remained anonymous.

K'uei's biography in the Chin history expatiates on his varied achievements, as precocious scholar, as writer, as artist, and particularly as musician.[57] (Knowing the prejudices of Chinese historians, one should not be surprised to find that nothing is said about his work for the Church). A much-admired anecdote stresses the effort that he made to keep his art free from any taint of vulgarity: he is said to have broken his beloved lute rather than take it to entertain a prince, like any common minstrel.

The fullest account of his status as sculptor is given in the seventh century miscellany *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xvi, as follows:[58]

"The form of the Most High wondrously exceeds all categories, [so that it is] impossible not only to render the radiant form, but even to transmit the proper formal attributes. To try to fashion the full perfection of the Dharmakāya, with [nothing better than] the fingers of common humanity – the chances [of success] one might put at one in a myriad.

"Since the Nirvāṇa more than a thousand long years had passed when images of Western make reached China. [From then on], though every casting was carried out with an attempt at likeness to the scriptures, and though noted masters and cunning craftsmen ransacked their minds and made every effort, true virility and fine artistry were still not wholly achieved. Now in the Chin age there came a certain Tai K'uei. ...whose bearing was lofty and who dwelt in seclusion in ancient Wu. He set his heart on dwelling among first principles, and delighted his mind by the teachings of Śākyamuni. He was at the same time bountifully inventive, and his skill mirrored that of Creation itself. He thought out a way to shadow and echo the Dharma-form, and to give dimensions to the Nirmāṇakāya; and thus when he fashioned an Amitāyus with flanking Bodhisattvas, the refinement of the conception was as wonderful as the workmanship was exquisite. He had concealed himself behind a curtain, to hear people's comments unobserved, and so was able to correct at once anything that they criticized.

"He estimated measurements [to the thickness of] a brush-point, and explored the effects of light with his dark or pale values. In blending inks and touching in colors, as in carving forms and casting from models,[59] he was not outdone even by [the legendary] 'man of Chou' whose planning had such finesse, or by the 'traveller from Sung' who made such a perfect imitation of a mulberry tree.[60]

[56] Examples in Japan have been published by Kadori H. in an article (in Japanese, called on the French title page "L'orfèvrerie a l'époque de Nara, I") in *Tōyō-Bizyutu*, III (i. e. *Tōyō Bijutsu*, special number on the Nara period, I), 1933, p. 14, pls. 27–31.

[57] *Chin Shu*, xciv, pp. 14r–15r; Giles' no. 1850.

[58] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 406a, b.

[59] For the text through this sentence, see Quotations, E.

[60] I have not identified "the man of Chou." The "traveller from Sung" is a character in *Lieh Tzu*, chapter *Shuo Fu*, 8; in the translation by L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings from the Book of Lieh Tzu*, London, 1912, p. 108.

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(15) "He gave [the project] so much intense study that it took him three years to finish. From that time to the present nothing comparable [has been produced]; most of those who gaze on it reverently feel as if they were in the presence of the Truth itself.

"Before long the image was welcomed into Ling-pao-ssu on the north side of Mount [Hui-chi in Chekiang], where the clerics and laity who looked on it all developed Bodhi-hearts. Ch'ih Chao of Kao-p'ing[61] heard of it and came to make his obeisance; then taking a pinch of incense he uttered this prayer: 'If it is vouchsafed in this life for me to gaze on the holy visage again, so in the after-world I pray that I may meet Maitreya.' At that from the incense in his hand all of a sudden a fragrant smoke arose of itself, mounting straight up until its essence blended with the clouds; while a black miasma that remained behind welled out as far as the crossroads. All of those who heard and witnessed this were filled with joy. The happy omen is also recorded in the *Hsüan Yen Chi*, written by the Sung Prince K'ang of Lin-ch'uan.[62]

"Master Tai dwelt a hundred paces or so away from Ling-pao-ssu. One night he rose to see a light over the temple, which blazed so brightly that he thought a fire had broken out and ran thither in great distress. [Others] in the neighborhood who had perceived it all came running as fast as they could—to find that the temple gate was peacefully closed, and that it was the image that was emitting the light. On the morrow when the monks heard a knocking at the gate they got up all together to see what it was; and then all caught sight of the Buddha hall as it shone and radiated light into the heavens. Then indeed did they compose themselves and do reverence, overjoyed at the supreme power of Enlightenment.

"Sung Wen Ti [r. 424–453] welcomed the statue [into his palace] for worship, and kept it always in his rear hall. Ch'i Kao Ti [r. 479–482] erected Cheng-chüeh-ssu with the purpose of bringing peace to its Dharma halls through the perfections of the marvellous image, and so transferred it thither.

"K'uei also made five portable images, after pondering over them for ten years, which used to be at Wa-kuan-ssu."

An entry in the Liang history, summing up the artistic treasures of Wa-kuan-ssu (a major Nanking temple, founded in the 360's), refers to these as "five Buddhas."[63] It is probably the same set that is meant by a notice in the Liang bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, xii, that speaks of "the lacquer figures made by the two Tai [i.e. K'uei and his son Yung]."[64] The *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, in citing K'uei as a benefactor of Buddhism again calls attention to "the five lacquer figures that he made with his own hands, all of which were incomparable in their bodily characteristics, and continually emitted light from their bodies."[65] We thus see that K'uei was credited, at least by his later admirers, with the invention of large-scale sculpture in lacquer; and we may imagine his figures as the remote ancestors of the magnificent works in hollow *kanshitsu* preserved from eighth century Japan. His motive must have been the one implied by the word "portable"; the desire to produce a type of statue that could be carried in processions much more easily than those in the traditional materials. The technique that he worked out was presumably based on the long-accumulated Chinese experience in handling lacquer for domestic uses, at a smaller scale. I shall postpone any attempt to explain the surprising reference to *five* Buddhas, to the chapter on the iconography of the Buddhas.

[61] See note 37 above.
[62] See Sung note 104, and Chin entry 6.
[63] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 8v, in section on Ceylon.
[64] *Daizōkyō*, LV, p. 92b. For the characters translated "lacquer" see Quotations, F. The term and the technique it identifies are discussed by Matsumoto B. in his *Bukkyō-shi Zakkō*, Ōsaka, 1944, pp. 315 ff.
[65] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 505b.

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From Tao-hsüan's list, in which the Amitāyus stands ninth, we learn that it was made of wood.[66] "In K'uei's opinion the images made in Middle Antiquity had almost all been rude and over-simple, and in their function of inspiring worship lacked the power to stir men's hearts. Since he was both pure in faith and highly inventive, he was spurred to alter the carving of the August Visage, so as to attain the utmost in truthfulness. He pondered the problem for years on end and finally succeeded in producing a statue in which the excellence of Chinese figure sculpture exceeded anything previously known. The statue is now at Chia-hsiang-ssu in Yüeh-chou (in Chekiang)."

The mid ninth century painting history *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, v, treats K'uei as an expert in both arts.[67] It is noted that the wooden Amitāyus was sixteen feet high, and was still at Chia-hsiang-ssu (though the latter statement, like other details, may simply have been copied from Tao-hsüan without check). There is a new reference to "a bronze Buddha with two Bodhisattvas cast by him, which is now at Pai-ma-ssu in old Lo-yang; having been taken thither by Sui Wen Ti from Hsing-huang-ssu in Southern Ching (in Hupeh)."

The *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi* tells three anecdotes that involve Tai K'uei's work as a painter. "At the age of ten or so, he did a painting at Wa-kuan-ssu. On seeing it the *ch'ang-shih* Wang remarked: 'This lad is not just an able painter; he will end by making a great name for himself, and I only regret that I shall not be able to see him in his prime.' . . . In his middle years Tai painted (sic) some portable figures with an extreme finesse. On seeing them Yü Tao-hsiu said to him: 'These are still very commonplace in spirit, my good sir, for you have not yet wholly rid yourself of worldliness.' K'uei replied: 'No one but Wu Kuang [the ancient hermit] could escape such criticism, sir'."[68]

(The first story is of the sort that might well have been invented whether or not it actually occurred, and contains a chronological impossibility. K'uei died in 395 in his 60's or 70's, and so can hardly have painted at Wa-kuan-ssu, which was founded only in the 360's, as a small boy. Yü Tao-hsiu, on the other hand, was a contemporary, the bookish scion of a house of warriors, and his biography backs up the anecdote at least by showing him in the same light. It is almost entirely taken up with the text of a reproof that he is said to have delivered to his impetuous uncle.)

The third piece of information deals with the terrible proscription of Buddhism in 845, when countless works of art and architecture were destroyed.[69] Among the devoted collectors who managed to save a few masterpieces was the grandee Li Te-yü; he secured an exemption for a temple that he had founded in western Chekiang, Kan-lu-ssu, and transferred thither a number of frescoes by famous figure-painters of the Six Dynasties and T'ang. These included, from our period:

A Vimalakīrti by Ku K'ai-chih (of Chin; entry no. 28)

A Mañjuśrī by Tai K'uei

A Bodhisattva by Lu T'an-wei (of Sung; entry no. 42)

Six walls with Bodhisattvas by Hsieh Ling-yün (of Sung; entry no. 46)

A deity; ten walls with Bodhisattvas; and

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 416c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii *(ibid.*, LIII, p. 386b). For the text, see Quotations G.

[67] *Keisekken* ed., IV, pp. 50r–51r; Ono, pp. 157, 343.

[68] Yü Tao-hsiu (i. e. Yü Hao) is the subject of a short biography in *Chin Shu*, lxxiii, p. 5r, appended to those of his better-known father Liang and uncle I (Giles' nos. 2526, 2524). Wu Kuang was a legendary sage of remote antiquity, who demonstrated a signal indifference to politics first under the Hsia and again (after a disappearance of four centuries) under the Shang. See his entry in *Chung-kuo Jen Ming TTT*, p. 895c, or in the dictionary *Tz'u Hai*.

[69] *Li-tai MHC*, iii, 5; *Keisekken* ed., IV, p. 35r, v; Ono, pp. 122, 322. Translated by W. R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, Leyden, 1954, pp. 366–382, with references to earlier studies of the problem by P. Pelliot in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, v, 1928, and viii, 1934.

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Bodhisattva and deity by Chang Seng-yu (of Liang; entry no. 24).

The *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi* also lists among works of Tai K'uei that were known to have been preserved until the "previous dynasty" (the Sui) a painting called *wu t'ien* or *wu tai* Lo-han in different editions; the former meaning probably "Arhats of the Five Indies" (i.e. of India), and the latter the more likely "Five Great Arhats."[70] Here again the number five is surprising, and will be discussed in the chapter on iconography.

16. The next image, another miraculously-found "statue by King Aśoka," involves the career of a Northern monk named Tan-i, who as a youth is said to have been one of the most talented disciples of Tao-an. His life is told with substantially the same details both in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, v, and in the *Ming Seng Chuan*, vi, (the latter through an excerpt preserved in the Japanese *Meisōden-shō)*.[71] The anecdote about the image reappears in Tao-hsüan's corpus, with the usual elaboration.[72] A good deal of chronological confusion runs through these three sources, suggesting that they may owe as much to legend or propaganda as to history.

At the outset we may note that the biographies speak of two men as special patrons of Tan-i who belonged to widely separated generations. The earlier, T'eng Han, is named as the Grand Warden of Ch'ang-sha who asked Tao-an to send him a missionary monk to stimulate Buddhism in his district, and in due course received Tan-i. From other sources I have been able to find only the fact that his reputation was made as a loyalist general in suppressing the rebellion of Su Chün in 328.[73] The second, Mao Ch'ü, led one of the columns that chased Fu Chien's routed Northern army in the debacle of 383, and only later became Governor of Szechwan (or Shu), as he is named in Tan-i's biographies.[74] (The *Kao Seng Chuan* version contributes to the reader's confusion by speaking of Mao at the outset of Tan-i's career.)

So far the discrepancy in dates is not insuperable. Tan-i must have been picked for his missionary duties while Tao-an was at Hsiang-yang, i.e. some time between around 350 and 378; it is conceivable that T'eng Han was still alive at that time. The story suggests that our monk had not been very long at his new post before he was forced temporarily to evacuate the monastery that he had founded, Ch'ang-sha-ssu, to escape an invasion of "bandits"; i.e. Fu Chien's advance in 383. When the crisis had passed he returned and set about restoring and enlarging his temple. One anecdote tells how he miraculously secured a relic; another, how he persuaded the deity of a fear-inspiring mountain to let woodcutters fell its trees for Buddhist use. The *Ming Seng Chuan* account then runs:

"He made over the existing small pagoda into a large one, and had a sixteen-foot, gilded image cast. When he had made the initial agreements with the two master-craftsmen involved, he held a grand maigre feast, praying that no obstacles should interfere with completion. Clerics and laity, as soon as they learned of [the scheme], were delighted to be able to follow out his idea; and the amount of bronze cash [?] that he received was more than enough for every requirement. With what was left over, in fact, he had an additional divine likeness made, that was seven feet tall."

Both versions of Tan-i's life go on, apparently in chronological sequence, to narrate the story

[70] Ono, p. 345, notes that the reading *tai* for "great" is found in the version of *Li-tai MHC* reprinted in the mid 16th century anthology *Wang Shih Shu Hua Yüan*. The latter also has an edition of the early T'ang painting record *Chen-kuan Kung Ssu Hua Lu*, by P'ei Hsiao-yüan, a work frequently drawn on by the author of *Li-tai MHC;* and there in 1, p. 24, the reading is *t'ien*.

[71] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 355c–356a; *Meisōden-shō*, p. 7b.

[72] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 415b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 385a). My Liang entry 22 contains, in addition, a panegyric on the statue composed by Yüan Ti (r. 552–554).

[73] *Chung-kuo Jen Ming TTT.*, p. 1522c. For Su Chün's revolt, see Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 932ff.

[74] Biography in *Chin Shu*, lxxxi, pp. 8r–9r.

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of the miraculous appearance of the Aśokan statue. The *Kao Seng Chuan*'s date, 394, is consistent with the rest of the story: "the nineteenth year of T'ai-yüan, whose cyclical characters were *chia-wu*." The *Meisōden-shō* transcription gives instead "the nineteenth year of Yung-ho," which would have been 363 except that that era ended in 357. To quote from the *Kao Seng Chuan*:

"[Tan-i] continually bewailed the fact that his temple stood and was well provided with monks, but that its icons were as yet few; saying: 'The representations of the Countenance made by King Aśoka, with all the holy good fortune [they could bring], were distributed in great numbers in these regions. Why are we so impotent that we receive nothing?'

"With especial fervor he besought a response to his devotion. Then in [394] on the eighth day of the second month all at once an image appeared north of the city, its radiant body-signs shining skyward. The brethren of Pai-ma-ssu happened to be the first to go out to welcome it, but they were unable to set it in motion. [Tan]-i then went to adore it, saying to his followers: 'This must be a royal Aśokan statue, vouchsafed to our Ch'ang-sha-ssu!' He directed three of his disciples to pick it up, and it rose as if buoyed on air. It was taken back to his temple, where clerics and laity hastened [to see it] until the rumbling of carriages and horses was everywhere. Later the Kāśmīrī Dhyāna Master Saṃghananda came from Shu [i.e. Szechwan] to the temple and worshipped it.[75] He found on its halo Sanskrit writing, and said: 'This is a royal Aśokan image; when did it come hither?' Those who heard him knew then that [Tan-] i had not been mistaken. [The latter] died in his eighty-second year. On the day of his death the image's round halo suddenly was dematerialized. No one knew what had become of it; but clerics and laity all said that this was [a sign of Tan-] i's supernatural powers."

Tao-hsüan's seventh entry begins: "In [347] under the Chin Emperor Mu, on the night of the eighth day of the second month, an image appeared north of Ching-chou city. Its height was 7.5 feet, or 11 including the aureole and pedestal. No one could explain where it had come from. Earlier, however, in [346] a Cantonese trader had been taking on cargo, and as [the work] neared completion was bewailing his ship's lightness. That night they sensed that someone came aboard. They were surprised, and made a search without finding anyone. The ship's load was found to have doubled of its own accord, and no more could be taken on, an amazing fact that could not be explained. Along the way the ship's speed was so great that it outstripped all other craft. Soon they reached Chu-kung [inside Chiang-ling city] and made fast. That night they sensed that someone was going ashore, and thereafter the ship's load lightened again. When the image made its appearance, they realized that [before then] its time had not yet come."

Tao-hsüan adds his usual vivid details to the story of Tan-i's find. One notices first of all a marked miscrepancy in date: his miracle is set in 347, and the "Biographies'" in 394. In keeping with the earlier year is a new name, introduced to identify the representative of secular authority who welcomes the statue, and tries in vain to carry it off: "the then Military Governor of Hsi Shan and Grand Director of Horse, Huan Wen" —i.e. the most celebrated marshal in the Southern armies, whose earlier triumphs were topped in that same year, 347, by a reconquest of Szechwan for the Chin domain.[76] On the other hand, if Tan-i was really a disciple of Tao-an (314–385), the year 394 is a far more convincing one for an event that seems to have crowned his career.

[75] Unknown to me outside of this one context.

[76] Biography in *Chin Shu*, xcviii, pp. 7v ff.; abridged in Giles' no. 846. Helped to fortify the military position of the Eastern Chin by the reconquest of Szechwan, and by vigorous (though not always successful) action against the states of the North. At the end of his life (312–373) had risen to the position of king-maker.

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(16) After getting the statue to Ch'ang-sha-ssu, Tao-hsüan continues: "In [372] a lotus pedestal was cast for it under Emperor Chien Wen of the Chin. In the T'ai-yüan era of Emperor Hsiao Wu [376–395], when the Governor was Yin Chung-k'an,[77] it made a sortie one night from the west gate of the temple. The watch thought it a man; and since it failed to answer when challenged, struck it with a sword. At the clash of metal they discovered it was the image, which had a mark on its breast where the sword had struck."

Tao-hsüan tells of the arrival of Saṃghananda, of his finding the inscription, and quotes his exclamation: "Only in the recent past has India lost this; how has it come so great a distance, to descend upon this land!"

"When [Tan-i] lay ill and lay at the point of death the statue's halo suddenly disappeared. His comment was: 'A Buddha [must] display that sign, and illness cannot affect it. The light must have gone somewhere else, on some other Buddha-errand.' In ten days he died. Afterward the monks cast another halo in imitation of it, which is the present one.

"In the reign of Emperor Hsiao Wu of the Sung [454–464] the image emitted a great radiance, for the Buddhist Dharma at that time was enjoying very great prosperity in the eastern reaches of the river. At the end of the T'ai-shih era of Emperor Ming [465–471] it suddenly shed tears. The sovereign died, to be succeeded by another who was wild and rash; and then came the revolution replacing Sung by Ch'i.

"The Governor of Ching-chou, Shen Yu-chih, was at first an unbeliever, and so sought to reduce the number of monks and nuns.[78] Ch'ang-sha-ssu alone had over a thousand monks, so that several hundred were required to return to lay life. The whole brotherhood was in great agitation, old and young weeping miserably. The image poured out sweat for five days, without stopping. Word thereof was carried to Shen, who summoned from the temple a priest of great holiness, the Dharma Master Hsüan-ch'ang, and asked him the reason.

"The priest replied: 'The Holy Spirit is not to be spoken of as distant; there is no hidden corner into which it does not penetrate. [As scripture has it], "The Buddhas of Past, Future, and Present contemplate each other; is it not true that at this moment the Buddha is thinking of all the other Buddhas?" This marvel has occurred because He wishes to warn your honor against your lack of faith.'[79]

"Asked from what *sūtra* he had quoted, he said: 'From the *Amitāyus*.' Yu-chih took the *sūtra* and found the passage; and was so moved thereby that he cancelled [his order for] the reduction.

"In [500] under the Ch'i there were two Governors at Ching-chou, General Hsiao Ying-chou[80] and the future founder of the Liang. At the time when Prince of Nan-k'ang, [Hsiao] Pao-jung, raised his righteous rebellion, the image walked right out of its hall and made as if to descend the stairs.[81] Two monks saw it and cried out in amazement, whereupon it turned

[77] Biography in *ibid.*, lxxxiv, pp. 5rff. A well-known figure, highly respected by Hsiao Wu Ti, whose name was probably introduced into the story to heighten its verisimilitude.

[78] Biographies in *Sung Shu*, lxxiv, pp. 8vff., and in *Nan Shih*, xxxvii, pp. 5vff.; appears several times as a leading figure in the account of the declining Sung dynasty given by Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1138–1149. A loyalist general; in the confusion attending the fall of the Sung, his stronghold Chiang-ling was seized in his absence by a rival, and his family was massacred; upon which he hanged himself, in 479.

[79] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 415c; *Fa Yüan CL (ibid.*, LIII, p. 385b) gives variant readings. The quotation is from the translation of the *Sukhāvatī sūtra* made by Saṃghavarman in A. D. 252: Nanjio catalogue no. 27, reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 360, p. 266c. The sentence is lacking in the Sanskrit version translated by Takakusu for the *Sacred Books of the East* series (Oxford, 1894), XLIX, p. 4.

[80] Biographies in *Nan Ch'i Shu*, xxxviii, pp. 2vff., and in *Nan Shih*, xli, pp. 4vff.

[81] Known also by the courtesy title Ho Ti; Giles' no. 712. See Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1174–1176.

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back into the building. In [501] Ying-chou died suddenly, and Pao-jung also was ruined, while fortune turned to the Liang founder."

A brief explanation of the situation at Ching-chou at this moment may be helpful to the reader. In 500 the Prince of Liang (future founder of the Liang dynasty) tried to win over General Hsiao to rebellion. After some vacillation the latter (a distant cousin of the first Ch'i emperor) betrayed an imperial general, and sent his severed head to the Prince of Liang. The latter set up Hsiao Pao-jung (younger brother of the last Ch'i emperor to rule *de facto)* as a puppet sovereign at Ching-chou, to fill in the months of transition in 501 before he himself assumed the throne. Plans were drawn up to transform the city into a proper capital after the model of Nanking; and General Hsiao was given rich honors, and at his death the honor of an imperial eulogy from his new patron. When the propitious moment came Pao-jung was deposed and permitted to kill himself. The statue's distress during this period of confusion may have been caused by more than a sensitivity to politics. When the rebel forces were being organized it became necessary, in the words of General Hsiao's biography,[82] to "borrow from the wealthy in order to help defray the expenses of the army. The Ch'ang-sha-ssu monks, whose enterprises had made them very rich, cast their gold into a dragon of several thousand taels' weight and buried it in the earth." When their strategem was discovered they claimed that the dragon was only of iron; but the general confiscated it all the same, for his army pay-roll.

"At the end of the T'ien-chien era of the Liang [502–519], the temple's prior Tao-yo happened to be sweeping the grass alongside the pagoda with a commoner, and opened the pagoda doors, to discover the image making a ritual circumambulation of the shrine(s). Yo worshipped it in silence and permitted nothing to be said about the incident. When the grand opening of the hall took place, it was found on its throne as before.

"When the Liang Prince of Po-yang was [in command] at Ching-chou,[83] he frequently asked it to enter the city when some great charitable work was being carried out. On one occasion he was feeling ill when he met it, and so kept his back turned and did not rise. In a few days he was dead.

"[The Liang] founder, when he had been at Ching-chou in the old days, had entertained a lively devotion [to the image], and often had vainly sought to have it brought before him. In the third month of [532] he sent the Pai-ma-ssu [monk] Seng-t'ing and his secretary Ho Ssu to make for him an offering in absentia of incense and flowers for worship, all being addressed with inscriptions in red. That night [the statue] emitted a radiance that seemed to follow the envoys as they left. [The ceremony] was continued on the morrow, to resolve what objections might remain, and repeated invitations were given it to go with them. All the religious adored as it was sent off to the ford across the river. On the twenty-third day they reached Chin-ling, [the capital]. The Emperor came out in person to welcome it, a distance of eighteen *li* from the city. Along the final stretch of road a continuous emission of light took place, without interruption: a happy omen which so delighted priesthood and laity that they sighed that nothing of the kind had ever been known before. (The image) rested three days in [the sovereign's] hall, being worshipped there with the utmost devotion. An unstinted grand maigre feast was held for twenty-seven days. (Finally) it was sent out by the Ta-t'ung Gate and entered Tung-t'ai-

[82] *Nan Ch'i Shu*, xxxviii, p. 3v; *Nan Shih*, xli, p. 5r.

[83] I. e. Hsiao K'uei, one of the sons of Wu Ti, whose biographies are given in *Liang Shu*, xxii, pp. 5vff., and in *Nan Shih*, lii, p. 4r–v. Given command over the region that included Ching-chou in 519; died in 524 in his 51st year. His remembered career included a minor miracle of a different sort: the arrival through the air, in response to his prayers, of a holy monk and a Taoist who specialized in treating eye diseases.

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(16) ssu;[84] where on the first night it emitted a great radiance. An imperial order was issued to erect a hall of three bays (for it), with two porches, northeast of the great hall of that temple. A canopied throne made of the Seven Precious Substances was given to enshrine the auspicious image, and two Bodhisattva figures were made of gilded bronze. Hills were built up and pools dug; there were rare trees and curious rocks. Soaring bridges with railings flanked the hall's two staircases. An additional gift was a pair of bronze cauldrons, each holding 30 *hu* measures. The storeyed pavilions on three sides (added) the elegance of their turning (enclosure). In the third month of [543] the Emperor paid a visit to Tung-t'ai-ssu to hold a meeting for discussion. He passed along the various halls, paying obeisance. It was twilight when he first reached the Hall of the Auspicious Image. Just as he mounted the staircase the statue emitted a great light, illumining the bamboo grove until the whole countryside was golden in color; and so it continued for half the night. When that temple caught fire and its buildings were destroyed, only the one hall housing the image escaped.

"In [548] the image sweated profusely. In the eleventh month of that year, the rebellion of Hou Ching broke out.[85] In [552], when the bandits had been pacified, the Ch'ang-sha-ssu priest Fa-ching and others welcomed the image back to Chiang-ling, where it was restored to its original temple. Under the [puppet regime] of Posterior Liang, in [561], the image again sweated; it was in the second month of the following year that Emperor Hsüan, or Chung Tsung, died.[86] In [564] a general conflagration reached Ch'ang-sha-ssu and the whole temple blazed on all sides, in a glare like that of noon. Those who sought to rescue the auspicious image had no way of moving it; but [the weight] that in the past had required a hundred men to lift, on that day rose handily with six. In [576] Ming Ti invited the image to the palace for a penitential service to move the unseen powers. In [584] he died. His successor, Hsiao Tsung, transferred the image to his Palace of Charity and Longevity, where again it sweated profusely. In [587] the [Posterior] Liang regime fell [to the Sui conqueror].

"In [587] the Ch'ang-sha-ssu priest Fa-chi once again welcomed the image home to its

[84] Information on this temple is assembled in *Nan Ch'ao Ssu K'ao*, v, pp. 26vff. It was located outside the capital on the north side, and communicated directly with the palace, by a special gate, to facilitate the participation of the ruler in its devotional exercises. In the year of its completion, 527, Wu Ti for the first time formally renounced the world to become a monk there (Wieger, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1202). Its architecture showed a truly imperial magnificence, including a nine-storeyed pagoda, six major halls, and artificial hills. It was almost totally destroyed by fire in 546. Plans for rebuilding aimed at a new pagoda to be twelve storeys high; but all such ambitions died with Hou Ching's rebellion two years later. See also Liang entry no. 16. The principal source for information on Tung-t'ai-ssu is the T'ang compilation of records concerning the events in and around Nanking during the Southern dynasties, the *Chien-k'ang Shih-lu* by the mid eighth century historian Hsü Sung: entry for 527, ch. xvii (p. 14r in the Kan edition of 1912). "Hills were piled up, and waterfalls were constructed to wind through the northwest quarter, and a Cedar Hall was located in their midst." After the fire "nothing remained but the auspicious likeness and the Cedar Hall."

[85] For Hou Ching, see his biographies in *Liang Shu*, lvi, and in *Nan Shih*, lxxx, pp. 1r–11v; also Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1210, 1214–1220, 1222–1223. A soldier of fortune, most of whose career was pursued in the North under the Eastern Wei. On the death of that dynasty's great kingmaker, Kao Huan, in 547, he made overtures to turn over his services and his province, first tentatively to the Western Wei and then successfully to the Liang. Once given a Liang commission, he persuaded Wu Ti to break a ten years' long peace by invading the Eastern Wei domain. The campaign failed; and instead of risking possible disgrace Hou marched straight against Nanking, taking the Liang government completely by surprise. After a protracted and exhausting siege, his army took the capital in 549; the octogenarian Wu Ti died under duress. After an interval of stunned confusion, the Southern loyalists gathered enough strength to drive him out in 552. When he was finally killed, his mutilated body was exposed in the Nanking market-place, and was torn to pieces and eaten by the infuriated populace.

[86] Set up at Chiang-ling by the Western Wei, after their brilliantly executed raid had taken the city in 554, under Hsiao Ch'a, a grandson of Liang Wu Ti. Giles' no. 697; biographies in *Chou Shu*, xxxxviii, and in *Pei Shih*, lxxxxiii. Later maintained in a puppet status by the Northern Chou; extinguished in 587 by the Sui; Wieger, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1228, 1243, 1250.

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temple. In [595] the Governor of Ch'ien-chou, T'ien Tsung-hsien, visited and adored it, upon which the image emitted light. His Lordship resolved to build a great hall on the north of the central axis, to be thirteen bays wide, with flanking halls of nine bays each on east and west. The timber used was transported more than 5000 *li* from the upriver regions of Ching. The felled trees were hauled down to the river and set adrift. They floated down to Ching-chou and came to a stop at the shore by themselves, none getting far astray in spite of all the tumult of wind and waves. There they were drawn ashore and used in the building. The diameter of a pillar was three feet, while its stone base was eight feet across; in all antiquity nothing had surpassed this. The great hall was panelled with scented woods. In it was installed a canopy made of thirteen precious substances, and in addition it was made splendid by gold and jewels; even the roof beams and ceiling coffers had precious blossoms set between them. The two halls on east and west of the miraculous image were also panelled with sandalwood, and had jewelled canopies and ornamental lamps made of pure gold. As the last word in vastness and beauty [all this] stood first in the whole realm.

"In [616] the miraculous image sweated several times, that being the year when Chu Ts'an was ravaging the provinces.[87] When he reached the metropolis of Ching he camped in the temple grounds. The great hall was so lofty that it overlooked the north city wall, and his bandits clambered up on top of it to shoot into the city. The defenders suffered so much from this that they set fire [to the building] that night with burning arrows. Clerics and laity within the city were greatly distressed [at the prospect of] losing the miraculous image; but that very night it crossed over the city wall, unbeknownst to anyone, and made its way to Pao-kuang-ssu; where it [was discovered] standing outside the gate, on the morrow, to the joy of the whole city. After the bandits had been dispersed, when the old emplacement of the image was examined, it was found that it had neither burned nor even been touched by ashes. The hall is being rebuilt at the present time, though not at its former scale.

"Under Hsiao Hsien of the illegitimate Liang regime,[88] in [618], the illegitimate Prince of Sung, Yang Tao-sheng, and others came to the temple to worship. The image sweated profusely; all day a rain poured from its body and head without interruption. In the ninth month of that year the army of Great T'ang moved downstream from Shu. On the twentieth day a priest of the temple, Fa-t'ung, believing that the T'ang were destined to rule, sought for an omen by performing a ritual circumambulation around the image. That night a light broke out that lit up the whole hall, and that only gradually lost its brilliance on the twenty-fifth day. That was the day when the troops of the Prince of Chao-chün entered the city:[89] an event that was comparable to the blessings of an imperial visit, and so was marked as auspicious by streaming light. By the moon of mid-summer the devotion of the ruler-shepherd won its final reward, [enthronement].

"In the sixth month of [632] there was a great drought. The Governor-general and Duke of Ying-kuo, Wu [Shih]-huo,[90] went to welcome the image, held a maigre feast, and performed a

[87] Biographies in *Old T'ang Shu*, lvi, p. 6r–v, and in *New T'ang Shu*, lxxxvii, pp. 3v–4r; see Bingham, *Fall of Sui*, pp. 55, 64, 135. In the breakup of Sui unity took the paper title of "Emperor of Ch'u."

[88] *Old T'ang Shu*, lvi, pp. 1r–2v; *New T'ang Shu*, lxxxvii, pp. 1n–2v; Bingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, note 31, 105, 142; Giles' no. 703. A descendant of the Liang house, who set himself up at Ching-chou as "Emperor" in 618. He surrendered to the T'ang army to spare his city the horrors of a siege, and was executed. Yang Tao-sheng is named as Prince of Sung among his subordinates.

[89] I. e. Li Hsiao-kung, a cousin of the T'ang founder; see *Old T'ang Shu*, lx, pp. 4vff., *New T'ang Shu*, lxxviii, pp. 4r–5v, and Bingham, p. 110. The T'ang founder, Li Yüan, was enthroned in June, 618.

[90] A comrade-in-arms of the T'ang founder; biographies in Old *T'ang Shu*, lviii, pp. 5v–6r, and in New *T'ang Shu*, ccvi, pp. 1v–2r. Died in 635; it was his daughter who became the third T'ang Emperor's consort and as a widow usurped the throne. See C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Empress Wu*, Melbourne, 1955, pp. xi, xii, 3.

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week-long ritual circumambulation. All of his officers, from highest to lowest, stood in front of the image, single-mindedly contemplating the Buddha. In a little while, cloud emanations spread in all directions, and sweet rain poured down; so that year was one of great fertility. The Governor-general gave gold wherewith to regild the miraculous image, and fitted it out completely with litters, banners, flowers, decorations, and ritual paraphernalia. It is now to be seen at Ch'ang-sha-ssu in Chiang-ling."

In Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies", xvi, the life of priest Fa-ching of Ch'ang-sha-ssu speaks of him as having restored some 1500 bays of large and small buildings under the Posterior Liang.[91] "The great Ch'ang-sha-ssu is where the holy image resides that is acclaimed as supreme in the world, and first in China. Late in life he fell suddenly ill. All the priests performed a seven-day ritual circumambulation of the image. The *śramaṇa* Fa-t'ai dreamed that the image went to Ching's cell; and the lay brother Yüan-chih saw it leave the cell and go back to the main hall, with his own eyes. On that very day [Fa-ching] recovered. By this we may know that the miraculous image of King Aśoka may be moved to descend among men; and that no one who has poured himself wholly into prayers has ever lacked an answer."

Fa Yüan Chu Lin, xiv, adds:[92] "In [664] the priest Hui-yü . . . went from I-chou (i.e. Sze-chwan) to Ch'ang-sha-ssu in Ching-chou, where the miraculous gilded-bronze image is. With the utmost fervor he made a vow to copy the statue in a painting for worship. He sought out a cunning artist, Chang Ching-yen, and had him purify himself in the proper manner. Six icons were painted without any supernatural manifestations. From the seventh, however, a five-colored divine radiance was emitted that gave full illumination inside and out. Far and near all witnessed this, and it lasted for seven days before the light gradually faded. Clerics and laity were astonished and overjoyed beyond the power of words to describe. Hui-yü took his icon to Ch'ang-an in an undecorated state, wishing to have its flanking attendants painted, the Bodhisattvas, holy monks, ritual paraphernalia, and so on. At that time an imperial order had been issued, summoning the skilled artists of the capital to the imperial city. There under the supervision of scholars from the government bureaux they were directed to make paintings of a 'Record of Western Realms' in sixty chapters, with forty more of illustrations. Hui-yü was not included, since he was not an expert; [but from the group assembled] he arranged to have the artist Fan Ch'ang-shou fit out his painted icon for a hall in the capital.[93] On the seventh day of the third month, in the third watch of the night, the figure began to emit a five-colored radiance that shone outside the hall." The watchman, seeing flames (as he thought) break out above the roof, ran off crying for help. A detail of government officials and guards was standing watch inside the building, while those off duty slept in the open. Wakened by the light, they began to throw on their clothes. All saw each other's bodies reddened by the glare except one man, an unbeliever, who found that he had turned pure black. This portent brought about his swift repentence and conversion. The radiance continued until dawn. "The officials from the various bureaux, the soldiers, and so on, who heard the call and saw the light all came to watch it. All who had the experience made up their minds to do their utmost to keep the commandments. The officials each had [a copy]

[91] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 556b.

[92] *Ibid.*, LIII, p. 392c.

[93] This event, a landmark in the transmission of Indian and Central Asian forms into Chinese art, is mentioned in two other *Fa Yüan CL* passages, in v (p. 310b) and c (p. 1024). The "Record" was composed by the T'ang envoy to India, Wang Hsüan-ts'e. For an analysis of its contents, see S. Lévi, "Les missions de Wang Hiuan-ts'e dans l'Inde," *Journal asiatique*, ix ser., XV, 1900, pp. 297ff. Fan Ch'ang-shou is a well-known name in the T'ang painting histories.

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painted for private devotions. Note: clerics and laity are so familiar with this [occurrence] that no special record of it has been quoted here."

17. The contemporary female counterpart to the "Biographies," the *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, i, contains a brief account of a nun of the capital named T'an-pei (324–396).[94] She stood in particularly high favor with Emperor Mu (r. 345–361) and his consort; in 354 the latter built a nunnery for her, entitled Yung-an-ssu, which came to house three hundred persons. After her death a disciple of almost equal distinction, T'an-lo, inherited her position by imperial order. "She erected a four-storeyed pagoda, a lecture hall, and dormitories; and had fashioned, it is said, a recumbent image [of Śākyamuni entering Nirvāṇa], and a hall with shrines for the Seven Buddhas [of the Past]."

18. The Liang history records that "Ceylon... sent its first embassy at the outset of the I-hsi era [405–418] of the Chin, bearing a jade image and *sūtras*.[95] The mission was ten years in transit. The image was 4.2 feet in height; the color of the jade was pure and rich; the workmanship [displayed in] the form was extraordinary, well-nigh superhuman. The statue was kept during the Chin and Sung dynasties at Wa-kuan-ssu. There, with the five Buddhas made by the famous sculptor Tai K'uei and the portrait of the Buddhist sage Vimalakīrti done by the famous painter Ku K'ai-chih,[96] it made up a group that was referred to as 'the three perfect works.' Under the Ch'i, the last ruler, the 'Marquis of Tung-hun,' [r. 499–501] finally broke up the jade image, first cutting off its arms and then taking its body to fashion hairpins for his favorite concubine."[97]

19. Several references in the travel record of the noted pilgrim Fa-hsien, who returned to China by sea from India and Ceylon in 413, speak of his bearing with him "scriptures and images."[98] In contrast to this sober statement stands a fantastic tale told by Tao-hsüan at the end of his biography of the Sui monk Seng-ming.[99]

"Of old the monk Fa-hsien [was moved by his] zeal to go to Western India, where he visited the holy sites in succession. At one monastery where he sought lodging all ranks came out to welcome him. He was in poor health at the time, and was homesick for his native food. The prior who was his host attended to the matter by ordering a novice to get some vegetarian food from [Fa-hsien's] home. The novice left, and in a moment was back again with a bloody wound on his foot. He told of having gone to beg food in P'eng city [in Kiangsu] at the home of one Wu Ts'ang-ying, and of being bitten by a dog there. Hsien, marvelling that he had journeyed a myriad *li* and more in the time that it would take to turn around, realized that the monks in that monastery were of no common sort.

"Later he took ship and went home. When he reached P'eng city he paid a call on Wu Ts'ang-ying, and learned just what had happened. There was still blood to be seen on the whitewashed

[94] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 935c–936a.

[95] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 8v.

[96] See Chin entry 28.

[97] Reigned in the last troubled months of the Southern Ch'i, 499–500. His annals in *Nan Ch'i Shu*, vii; his reign as viewed from the Northern standpoint in the section on the Nanking regimes in *Wei Shu*, lxxxxviii, pp. 4v–5v; details of his follies in Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1179–1184.

[98] The so-called *Kao Seng Fa-hsien Chuan*, reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, LI, no. 2086; references are on p. 866a, b. In the translation by S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, see I, pp. lxxx, lxxxiii.

[99] *Hsü Kao SC*, xxix, in *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 692a; also found in his *Chi Shen Chou SPKTL*, ii, and in *Fa Yüan CL*, xci (respectively *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 417a, and LIII, p. 955c). The tale has no basis either in Fa-hsien's travel record or in his biography, included in *Kao SC*, iii (*ibid.*, L, p. 338). The *Fa Yüan CL* version ends with a note giving the source of the story as a certain *Chin Shih Tsa Lu*, or "Miscellaneous Records of Chin History." Perhaps the title was carelessly transcribed from memory, or has been miscopied. I have not been able to identify it in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and T'ang histories, which however do list a *Chin Ch'ao Tsa Shih*, "Miscellaneous Incidents in the Chin Dynasty," in two *chüan* (*Sui Shu*, xxxiii, p. 5r; New *T'ang Shu*, lviii, p. 6r).

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gateway, from the dog's bite. Hsien said: 'That is the blood of an Arhat and a holy monk. When you saw him he was collecting food. Who would have expected that a dog would harm him?' At the news Ying was deeply penitent, and gave up his mansion to be turned into a temple. He himself went to Yang-tu [i.e. Nanking], and sought everywhere for *sūtras* and an image. While he was being ferried across the Yang-tzu the boat heeled far over; and all at once he saw a pair of bones, each ten feet long, come riding the waves right into the [capsizing] boat. By using them he was able to float to safety and get up the bank. The incident was reported officially, and the authorities made an investigation, finding that [the bones] were dragons' teeth.

"Ying went upstream to the west, still hunting vainly for an image. He was resting briefly in a wood when he caught sight of a Brāhman monk going along, carrying a statue. The man said that he was going to Hsü-chou [i.e. P'eng] to present it to Wu Ts'ang-ying to be worshipped. Ying said: 'Those must be the very words of the Tathāgata, for I am that disciple myself.' The image was turned over to him and he took it back to the capital. There an imperial order was issued to copy it. Ten statues in all were ordered, each with writing under the foot.[100] New and old were impossible to tell apart; but when Ying was directed to pick [his original], the image came down to him in a vision and said, 'This is the true form,' just in time for him to return and get the right one. He went back to Hsü-chou, where divine omens [thereafter] occurred frequently.

"Emperor Hsiao Wen of Northern Wei [r. 471–499] invited it into his palace city.[101] The last ruler of Northern Ch'i sent an emissary to bring it back to [his capital] Yeh. After the fall of that dynasty, during the Chou persecution, it was buried for safe-keeping by the monks. With the restoration of the faith under the Great Sui, happy times came back again; and so it is now at Ta-tz'u-ssu of Yeh-hsien in Hsiang-chou [in Honan]."

The statue is referred to in the biography (as in Tao-hsuan's corpus, where it is the twelfth) as "the image of the meditating prince from the Wu temple in Hsü-chou." In this title lies the only historic interest in the preposterous story. Images so named, derived from the Buddha's first meditations while he was still the young Prince Siddartha, became popular in North China at least by the period of the Yün-kang caves. The figure type — wearing a prince's or Bodhisattva's dress, one leg up with the ankle supported by the other knee, chin resting on hand and elbow on the raised knee — is a unusual one in the early Buddhist repertory.[102] It is not unlikely that the Wei Emperor Hsiao Wen worshipped such a figure in his palace; the story may have been composed in a clumsy attempt to provide it with an impressive background.

20. The name of the great Hui-yüan (333–416), Tao-an's most distinguished pupil and spiritual heir, who after his master had been captured and carried off in 379 fled southward and established his headquarters on Mount Lu in Kiangsu, occurs in several references that concern us. One is a "King Aśoka image" story of the now familiar sort, and since it claims to begin in an earlier generation, may be set first. According to the *Kao Seng Chuan*, vi:[103]

"In the days when T'ao K'an [259–334] was Military Governor of Kuang-chou [the Canton

[100] The *Chi Shen Chou SPKTL* version has been handed down with the unlikely variant "1000 copies."

[101] As one result of the prolonged confusion and misgovernment that prevailed at the Sung court from 464 on, the governor of Hsü-chou found it prudent to surrender himself and his district to the Wei in 467; thereby detaching from the Nanking regime the whole rich northeast corner of its domain, in southern Shantung and northern Kiangsu. In connection with this transfer, see also my Sung entry 3.

[102] See the section on the "Contemplative Prince" in the chapter on the iconography of the Bodhisattvas, pp. 225 ff. below.

[103] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 358c.

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region], a fisherman saw a strange light on the sea, a lovely apparition that came for ten nights in a row. In his wonderment he told K'an, who went thither, made a careful inspection, and found a royal Aśokan image. He had it picked up and carried off, to the Wintry Brook Temple at Wu-ch'ang (in Hupeh). The prior there, one Seng-chen, once went off to Hsia-kou and that night dreamed that his temple had caught fire; only this one image's building remained, ringed around by dragon deities.[104] On waking he hastened home, and found that the temple had actually burned down, except for that one hall.

"K'an later was transferred to another post; and since the statue had shown such awe-inspiring spiritual power, he sent an emissary to take charge of it. Several tens of men carried it to the water and aboard, whereupon the ship capsized and sank. The frightened agent had it righted, but in the end the attempt was abandoned. As a youth K'an had been exceptional for gallantry in war, for simplicity, and for piety; so they made a song about him in the [middle Yang-tzu region] that ran:

'T'ao is only a swordsman; the statue is marked as a god.
Clouds drift over its muddy home, sunk so deep, so deep.
What devotion could win, can never be seized by force.'

"When the temple that [Hui]-yüan founded was built, he entreated [the image] with a prayerful heart.[105] Thereupon as if buoyed up by air it lightened of itself, and there was no further difficulty in moving it. So we see how Yüan's divine influence proved the words of the song."

The thirteenth entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus provides this additional information:[106] "K'an sent out a search party, and all at once a gilded image was seen crossing the waves and heading for the side of the boat. They examined its inscription and found that it was an image of the Boddhisattva Mañjuśrī, made by King Aśoka. The old story tells that when [the said monarch] held the land under his sway, he made a prison modelled on the demon king's, in the severity of its torments. Mañjuśrī showed himself there in a cauldron, whereat the fire died out into clear water, from which sprang blue lotus blossoms. The king's heart was so moved that on that very day he demolished the prison.[107] He made 84,000 *stūpas* and set up the same number of images, of which this was one.

"At the end of the Sui, when banditry broke out and the brethren were scattered, only one old monk, whose name has been forgotten, came to take leave of the miraculous image. It said to him: 'So old a man can only stay in one place; how then can you abandon Me?' So he obeyed, and remained there. At the time when the bandit Tung Tao-ch'ung was plundering Chiang-chou, his followers came to the temple in search of loot and seized the monk, demanding his gold. He said: 'I have nothing for you.' They tortured him

[104] T'ao's biography is given in *Chin Shu*, lxvi, pp. 31ff.; Giles' no. 1897. A loyal general, 41 years of whose life were spent in military service, mainly against rebels. He was appointed Grand Warden of Wu-ch'ang by Yüan Ti (r. 317–323), and later was transferred to be Governor of Kuang-chou, where he put down a revolt in the coastal region. Returning thereafter to the middle Yang-tzu, he was given greater honors, and eventually settled his viceregal capital again at Wu-ch'ang. At his death he was in military command of eight provinces and Governor for two, with the fief of Duke of Ch'ang-sha-chün. A stele with his portrait was set up at Wu-ch'ang. His long biography contains no references to Buddhism, but is full of stories and sayings about him comparable to the song quoted in *Kao SC*. Wu-ch'ang, the present (or at least the pre-Communist) capital of Hupeh, lies across the Yang-tzu from Hankow. Hsiakou is a sub-prefecture under Han-yang-fu, the twin of Hankow across the Han River.

[105] Hui-yüan's biography dates the establishment of his first retreat on Mt. Lu in 386.

[106] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 417b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 386c).

[107] See Przysluski, *Açoka*, pp. 120–158, 236–241. In the original version told there, it is the monk Samudra who entered the Hell-prison and was subjected to torment in a cauldron. The water would not heat, though every kind of fuel was piled on the fire beneath it. When the jailer looked inside he found "the monk seated with crossed legs on a lotus blossom with 1000 petals."

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with fire, to which he replied: 'There is no use in burning me to death; but my dead body would defile the monastery, so why not do it outside?'

"As they were leaving, they decided to kill him. He said: 'In all the seventy years of my life, I have never turned against the Buddha's teaching. Let me wait for a proper thought [to die with], and then I shall stretch out my neck to the sword.' The bandit agreed; and when he saw the outstretched neck, took his sword and slashed down. The blade turned, pierced his own heart, and came out his back. The rest of the gang ran off in a panic as far as [Hui]-yüan's grave monument. The weather had so far been clear; but now all at once a cloud like a canopy spread blackly down, and there was thunder and lightning on all sides. The bandits were struck, and nine of them were killed. The children of Chiang-chou with their personal effects had been hidden in great numbers on the mountain. Thereafter the bandits did not dare to come up, while around [the city itself] fires destroyed almost everything.

"The image is now on top of a multi-storeyed pavilion in Tung-lin-ssu, [the monastery founded by Hui-yüan], on the mountain. In the Wu-te era of T'ang [618–627] a gale from the Valley of the Stone Gateway blew [this building] out of plumb toward the north. Plans to straighten it were blocked by the lack of any place to set a windlass. The monks thereupon prayed to the god of the mountain to blow it straight. Soon there came a great gale out of the north, and the pavilion stood straight again."

The anthology *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xv, contains a panegyric on an image of Mañjuśrī by the Chin writer Yin Chin-an.[108] The subject may possibly have been the miraculously-found statue, since the text speaks of King Aśoka, as a universal ruler who made images, and says (a little patronizingly?) that "the strangeness of a miracle has frequently reformed the people's understanding."

21. Hui-yüan's biography summarizes the beauty of the setting on Mount Lu that he chose for his new monastery, Tung-lin-ssu: the peaks and waterfalls that framed it, the clear spring-water that wound past the steps, the denseness of the "wood for meditation." Then we read:[109]

"Yüan had heard of the shadow-image of the Buddha in India; how once the Buddha had converted a malignant Nāga-dragon and had left His shadow behind at the place, the same being in the Yüeh-chih realm in north India, south of the city of Nagarahāra, in the cave of an immortal of olden time; by road across the desert, 15,850 *li* to the west. He had oftentimes taken delight [in the story], and cherished the hope that he might gaze in reverence [on the place himself]. He had happened to meet a cleric from the West who described for him the radiant body-signs; and so he built a grotto, backing against the mountain and overlooking the stream, and worked out a wonderful scheme by which a painter drew [the form] in pale pigments. The colors one might have taken for layers of air; seen from a distance they were like a mist, [from which] the glorious body-signs gleamed forth as if they were now hidden and now revealed. Yüan composed an inscription that ran . . ."

What follows, as in all the best panegyrics of the time, is impossibly vague and high-flown. A tentative rendering of the first few lines might run something like this:

"Vast is the grand image!
The quintessence is subtle and indescribable,
But body and soul belong to the realm of created things.
Cast away is the shadow, left behind the form.
A radiance comes and goes among high-piled peaks;
A brightness is fixed within the empty shelter.

[108] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 198c. I have not identified Yin Chin-an, but attribute him to the Chin period from his position among the writers quoted in the anthology.

[109] *Ibid.*, L, p. 358b.

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It lies in the shadows and is not obscured;
Placed in darkness, it is all the more luminous . . ."

The fourth line probably draws a parallel between the miracle of the Shadow Cave, and the Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa; claiming for the first, therefore, the highest possible importance.

The same sort of verbiage is found in a composition on the shadow-images — both the original and the Chinese copy on Mount Lu — by the well-known Sung poet Hsieh Ling-yün, preserved in the *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xv.[110]

A summary account of the Nagarahāra legend and its cult is given in my chapter on "The Best Known Indian Images."[111]

Hui-yüan's special interest, however, lay in fostering the cult of Amitāyus or Amitābha (he seems to have been familiar with both versions of the Buddha's name). His persuasiveness, and the natural attractions of the Pure Land promise, won him a wide and devoted following. His biography speaks of one meeting of 123 persons over which he presided on Mount Lu, at which a maigre feast was held in front of the Buddha's image, and all publicly proclaimed their hope of rebirth in the Western Paradise.[112] A curious scrap of further evidence is contributed by the life of his disciple Fa-an in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, vi. The latter, like several other hermits of this heroic era, had rid his district of man-eating tigers through the power of meditation and preaching. As a result he was able to appropriate a pagan shrine in the once-infested area, and make it over into a Buddhist temple.[113] "Later he wished to paint an icon, but needed some bronze verdigris that he could not get. [In retelling the story, *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xix, says that he wanted to paint on a cliff face, and needed the pigment for a sky color.][114] That night he dreamed that a man stood close in front of his bed, and said: 'Underneath this point is a bronze bell.' On awaking he dug and actually found two bells. Thus he got the verdigris for his icon, and later he gave the bronze from one bell to Master Yüan to help him cast his Buddha."

Hui-yüan was a true recluse, and for more than thirty years never left his mountain (the tale that even in saying goodbye to a friend he never would cross the Tiger Brook was to furnish a stock theme for painters a thousand years and more later). He had a voluminous correspondence however, as well as many visitors from the outer world. In summarizing these contacts his biography speaks of the letter that he received from the semi-barbarian ruler of Later Ch'in in the North, Yao Hsing (r. 394–416), which was accompanied by "a present of various scriptural illustrations [?] done in fine silk thread in Kucha," as well as "an image made of pearls."[115]

On Hui-yüan's death in 416, two memorial stelae were set up, one with an inscription by Hsieh Ling-yün, the other with one by the scholar-painter Tsung Ping;[116] and because he had been so impressive a personality, "a portrait of him was done for the temple."

[110] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 199b; here it is explained that Hui-yüan heard of the original through the description given by the pilgrim Fa-hsien. Another piece in the same anthology, pp. 197c–198b, transcribes the same inscription as does Hui-yüan's biography, adding explanatory material and a date of 412 for the completion of the imitation Shadow Cave. Hui-yüan is said to have first learned of the grotto from hearing of the travels of an unnamed Western monk, and then to have had the fact verified from two other sources, "the Dhyāna Master from Chi-pin and the Vinaya Scholar from the Southern realm" (i. e. by the Kashmir missionary Buddhabhadra, and presumably by the pilgrim Pao-yün, who went west in 397 and on his return became a close friend of Hui-yüan). Buddhabhadra was the translator of a curious "*Sūtra* of the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy" which dilates at great length on the Shadow Cave Story; see below, pp. 185 ff. and 265 ff.). For the poet Hsieh Ling-yün, see my Sung entry 9.

[111] See below, pp. 265 ff.

[112] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 358c. The text refers to the Buddha first by the familiar translation Wu-liang-shou, and then by the phonetic O-mi-t'o. See also note 100 to the iconographic chapter on Amitābha.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 362b, c.

[114] *Ibid.*, LIII, p. 428c.

[115] *Ibid.*, L, p. 360a. For Yao Hsing, see Minor Northern Dynasties entry 10.

[116] Biographies in *Sung Shu*, xciii, p. 2r, v, and in *Nan Shih*, lxxv, pp. 2v–3r (as Tsung Shao-wen); Giles' no. 2051; entered as a painter in *Li-tai MHC*, vi.

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22. In the *Kao Seng Chuan*'s life of priest Seng-hung, we read:[117]

"He dwelt at Wa-kuan-ssu in the capital . . . He persuaded those persons whose *karmas* [permitted them to respond], to make a sixteen-foot gilded image. They completed the casting, but had not yet opened the mould. This was at the end of the Chin regime, when a prohibition on the use of bronze was enforced with extreme strictness, offenders being liable to the death penalty. It so happened, also, that the future founder of the Sung line was Prime Minister at the time; [and so when Hung was arrested], he was confined in fetters at the latter's *yamen*. He did nothing there but chant the *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, entrusting his life utterly to the Buddha image. One night he dreamed that the statue he had cast came and stroked his head, and asked whether or not he was afraid. Hung answered: 'I know that I must die.' The statue told him not to grieve; [looking at] its breast he saw there an area in the bronze about a foot square that seemed to be molten and boiling out. He was taken to court where an officer was to oversee the execution; but the oxen ran away and the cart was smashed, so that it had to be postponed. Then there came an order, it is said from P'eng city,[118] that priest Hung was not to be killed, but was to be given a pardon. So in the end he was set free. When he went back and opened the mould he found that on the breast of the statue there actually was an area that was blistered in the same way."

Among the abbreviated notes on the contents of the *Ming Seng Chuan* that are to be found at the end of the Japanese transcript *Meisōden-shō*, is one that names Seng-hung as the maker not only of a "sixteen-foot gilded image" but also of a "gilded Amitāyus image."[119] No indication is given whether the two entries refer to the same statue or not.

23. The Chin history, x, records of the last ruler, Kung Ti (r. 419–420) that "he believed deeply in the Buddha's doctrines. He requisitioned 100,000 cash to cast a sixteen-foot gilded image, and then welcomed it to Wa-kuan-ssu in person, walking in its train some tens of *li*."[120]

24. Tao-hsüan's least sober footnotes to the history of Chinese Buddhism are found in the *Tao-hsüan Lü-shih Kan-t'ung Lu*, a purported series of dialogues between the author and various divine visitors. These typically take a question-and-answer form, the monk probing for explanations for a variety of strange phenomena, the god answering with a celestial assurance. One such passage, which for want of a more precise date may be considered here,[121] begins with a question from Tao-hsüan about "the stone image of Prabhūtaratna Buddha at Ch'eng-tu in I-chou [i. e. Szechwan]. In what age, pray, did the statue emerge from the ground?"

In reply the god tells a bizarre tale. The statue had been carved long, long ago, in the age of Kāśyapa Buddha, by a man who "imitated all the distinguishing attributes of Prabhūtaratna Buddha's body." This was done at a now extinct monastery on the West Ear River, Hsi Erh Ho, called the Vulture Head or Vulture Mountain Temple, which may still be traced (the god claims) "through its remaining column bases, and a *stūpa* that continually emits light." The statue was admired by a man from Ch'eng-tu, who got permission to carry it back to his city by boat. Unfortunately he happened mortally to offend a marine deity on the return passage; and the latter stamped so furiously on the boat that he sank it with the image and the donor together. During the Chin dynasty — by which time what had once been a sea bottom had risen to become a mountain — the earth over the spot began to push upward, and finally burst open. When an

[117] In xiii; *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 410c–411a.
[118] The residence of the future Sung founder.
[119] From xxvii; p. 17r.
[120] *Chin Shu*, x, p. 7v. For Wa-kuan-ssu see Chin entry 28.
[121] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 436a, b.

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excavation was undertaken, they found, at a depth of ten feet or so, a boat containing an image and some human bones. "The skull, forearm, and shin bones were huge, several times [normal] human size; and so must have belonged to one of the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa in the age of Kāśyapa Buddha, when the life span was 20,000 years." A Prabhūtaratna temple was erected at the site. "Under the Chou persecution [the statue] was temporarily hidden, but with the restoration it was brought out again."

This is an odd story indeed, with very little in it to inspire belief. Tao-hsüan himself seems to have regarded the Ch'eng-tu image with less confidence than the others in his miraculous group, or have learned about it later, for it is absent from his corpus. On the other hand, we shall meet in Sung entry 16 what just may be an independent corroboration, of sorts: a pilgrim passing through Ch'eng-tu around 440 is said to have "worshipped the stone image," and a statue so sketchily identified must have been famous for some unusual reason.

25. Our knowledge of Buddhist painting under the Chin begins with a reference in the official biography of a high officer, one Ts'ai Mou (312–387).[122]

"The Prince of P'eng-ch'eng, [Ssu-ma] Hung, submitted a memorial [pointing out that] there was a Buddha icon in the Lo-hsien Hall that had been painted by the hand of the late Emperor [Ming, r. 323–325]. Since only that same hall had survived the destruction wrought by the bandit [troops of the rebel Su Chün in 328], he suggested that it would be fitting if a imperial order were issued, requiring a eulogy to be composed on the subject. The Emperor transmitted the petition to Mou, who answered:

"The Buddha is a barbarian vulgarism, not an institution [hallowed by] the Classics. The late Emperor [could have been] measured against both Heaven and Earth. His talents were many, and many were the arts [that he practised]. Never have I heard it said that he took any special pains to paint an icon because of any great love for Buddhism. When robber bands broke their way in and the royal capital fell, the fact that that hall alone should have survived was most assuredly a sign that some supernatural power was guarding the throne. It is not, however, the sort of illustration of the Great Chin's success and might that one would prefer to write eulogies about."

The late T'ang history of painting, *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, v, contains a number of references to Buddhist works done under the Chin (in addition to those cited above for Tai K'uei). We learn there first of all that Emperor Ming "excelled at painting Buddhist icons."[123] In addition:

26. A painting by Chang Mo of the sage Vimalakīrti is said to have survived into the T'ang dynasty.[124]

27. Another survivor was a painting by Wei Hsieh of the Seven Buddhas of the *Śūraṁgama Sūtra*. An earlier paragraph signals out "the Seven Buddhas" for special comment: Wei is said to have won from his rival Ku K'ai-chih the compliment that he had made them "majestic, and at the same time had suggested that they possessed feelings."[125]

28. Ku K'ai-chih "on one occasion painted a Vi-

[122] Biography in *Chin Shu*, lxxvii, reference being on p. 6r.

[123] *Keisekken* edition, IV, p. 43r; Ono edition, pp. 142, 334. Note also a letter to Tao-an from his friend Hsi Tso-ch'ih, dated 365 (preserved in *Hung MC*, xxi; *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 76c–77a), which contains the passage: "Only Su Tsu, His Imperial Majesty Ming, whose virtue assuredly descended upon him from Heaven, was the first to yearn toward the Way, and with his own hand depicted the Tathāgata's countenance." Hsi's biography, in *Chin Shu*, lxxxii, pp. 7rff., refers to his friendship with Tao-an; he too was captured by Fu Chien at the taking of Hsiang-yang.

[124] *Keisekken*, p. 43v; Ono, pp. 143, 335. The *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 26v, calls this "a scroll with illustrations," and says it had belonged to the Sui imperial collection.

[125] *Keisekken*, pp. 43v–44v; Ono, pp. 143–144, 151, 335, 339.

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malakīrti at Wa-kuan-ssu in a small hall on the north.[126] When the picture was completed, its brilliance dazzled the eye for several days. 'The Record of Temples at the Capital' says that in the Hsing-ning era [363–365] when Wa-kuan-ssu was first established the monks held a maigre feast and invited the gentlemen at court 'to make the pagoda spire resound' [by their generosity]. Their contributions, however, failed to exceed 100,000 cash. When Ku was asked, he straightway 'struck the spire' by putting himself down for a million. He had always been a poor man, so everyone thought he was merely making a gesture. Later, when the temple monks were redeeming their pledges, Ku said: 'Give me a wall, shut the doors, and leave me for a little over a month.' When his Vimalakīrti was done and he was just about to dot in the eye pupils, he told them: 'From the first day's visitors you can ask 100,000; from the second day's, 50,000. On the third day you may solicit in the usual way.' When the doors were opened, the whole temple was lit by the brilliance. The million was collected at once, and the books were closed."

In another context the author of the *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi* remarks parenthetically:[127] "Master Ku was the first to do a portrait of Vimalakīrti with pure and emaciated features that plainly showed his illness; making him lean on an elbow rest, oblivious of what was being said [around him]. Chang Mo and Chang Seng-yu also handled the subject, but less perfectly."

For another reference to a Vimalakīrti by Ku, see Chin entry 15.

29. Shih Tao-shih's "Indian Monk" was still in existence in the T'ang.[128]

The remaining entries are of less historical value. The first is taken from the chapter summarizing notable good deeds in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii. The other three come from *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, and perfectly exemplify the kind of edifying (and if possible, miraculous) anecdote for which the latter's compiler had a special weakness.

30. Four high officers of the Chin are grouped as makers of temples and images.[129] They are: Wang Mei, General of the Army of Defense; Liu Liu, General of [the Army of] the Rear; Yü Yüeh, Governor of Chiang-chou; and Yüan K'an, Grand Warden of Hsün-yang.

31. A handsome young man named Tung Ching-ch'ien died prematurely in 344.[130] Just before his burial a strange monk came to the house (as a ghostly voice had prophesied the night before), announced that he was making an eighteen-foot image, and offered to make available a burial plot just west of his temple. With that advantage the deceased was able to make several posthumous appearances before his relatives, telling them of his good fortune in being reborn in Heaven.

32. A certain Kuo Hsüan-chih, made a magistrate in Szechwan in 408, found himself in prison.[131] There, after "concentrating his mind utterly upon the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, one night as he was about to fall asleep he suddenly saw the glory of the Bodhisattva lighting up his cell. He gazed and adored, uttering prayers and vows; after a long time it disappeared. In a short while he alone received an imperial amnesty; upon which he had an icon painted after the form that he had seen, and set up a chapel."

[126] *Keisekken*, pp. 46r; Ono, pp. 144ff., 335ff. Information on Wa-kuan-ssu is assembled in *Nan Ch'ao SK*, ii, pp. 19rff. See also Sung entries 1, 12, and my comment on the apparent rivalry between the temple and the earlier Ch'ang-kan-ssu, p. 251. The "Record of Temples at the Capital" must have been the now lost work cited in *Fa Yüan CL*, c (*Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 1022a) as being by the Liang official Liu Ch'iu, in 20 *chüan*.

[127] *Keisekken*, p. 17v; Ono, pp. 62, 294; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts*, p. 193.

[128] *Keisekken*, p. 49r; Ono, pp. 156, 342. *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 24, says this had belonged to the Sui imperial collection.

[129] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 505a. Liu's biography in *Chin Shu*, lxi, p. 9r, speaks of him as a reader of Lao-tzu. Yü appears in *Sung Shu*, lii, pp. 1r–2r, and in *Nan Shih*, xxxv, p. 2r, v.

[130] From lii: *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 677b, c.

[131] From xvii; *ibid.*, pp. 409c–410a.

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33. A certain Nan-kung Tzu-ao, taken prisoner when a border city was captured by the barbarian troops of Western Ch'in, was sentenced to death with several thousand inhabitants.[132] Because he prayed whole-heartedly to Avalokiteśvara, the executioners' swords missed him and their limbs were struck by a palsy. "When set free he made a small image, wrapped it in a package with incense, and wore it on his head."

[132] From xvii; *ibid.*, p. 410a, b. For a similar practise ascribed to the pious Japanese regent Shōtoku Taishi, see p. 235 below.

SUNG

A. D. 420–478

1. The life of the fourth century monk Hui-li in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, is largely concerned with the temple that he founded outside the southern capital in the 360's, Wa-kuan-ssu.[1] The latter's famous images are enumerated: Tai K'uei's five, and a sixteen foot statue cast by his son Yung (about which see my entry 12 below); the jade statue from Ceylon; and finally a miraculously-found image. Of the latter we read:

"The Master of Works, Wang Mi, once was entering the palace when he noticed a light coming all of a sudden from a place . . . outside the Tung-yeh Gate. Surprised, he ordered an excavation there, and found a gilded image that with halo and pedestal was 7.2 feet high. He sent in a report to the first Sung Emperor [r. 420–422], who had it brought into the palace for worship. In [423] it was sent out to Wa-kuan-ssu. Later it was moved again, and it is now at Lung-kuang-ssu."[2]

Tao-hsüan, listing this statue eleventh, dates its exhumation in 405.[3] "The excavators discovered a bronze disk of antique shape, covering a golden image four feet [tall], complete with halo and pedestal. This was the same royal Aśokan image [that had been discovered once before under] Sun Hao. It was sent up to the palace; there the Sung founder, who previously had been rather lukewarm in his faith, on receiving it became more reverent, and waited on it personally in joyful enlightenment."

Most of the great metropolitan temples were ravaged by looting and fire in the last, catastrophic years of the Liang dynasty. A leader in the effort at restoration made under the Ch'en was the monk Chu-li. His biography in Tao-hsüan's sequel, xxix, speaks of his transferring to a new temple in Yang-chou two famous statues from the ruined Lung-kuang-ssu: the first "a King Udyāna image" (for which see Sung entry 23), and the other "the image of Dīpaṃkara that was discovered by Wang Mi."[4] I do not know on what grounds the latter came to be identified with the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, that legendary sav-

[1] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 410a, b.

[2] Biography in *Chin Shu*, lxv, p. 6r, v (the chapter being devoted entirely to members of his family). Mi died in his 48th year in 407, having held a variety of high offices under the Eastern Chin. His biography tells that he was the first to appreciate the potentialities of the future Sung founder (of course long before the latter's coup in 420). For a critical comment on his appearance in this story, see my p. 250 below. For Lung-kuang-ssu, see *Nan Ch'ao SK*, ii, p. 41r, v. First called the "Green Garden Temple" when founded by a Chin Empress. Given new patronage and its final name under Sung Wen Ti (r. 424–454), when a monk much admired by the sovereign lived there, and a dragon appeared during a summer thunder-storm and mounted skyward in a blaze of light in front of the Buddha hall (hence the title "Dragon's Light Temple"). Later a number of well-known foreign and Chinese priests made their residence there.

[3] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 417a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii (*ibid.*, liii, p. 386b, c).

[4] *Ibid.*, L, p. 695a, b. A critical analysis of the whole "discovery" will be found below in my chapter on "The Miracles," pp. 249ff.

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ior of the remote past who is said to have been the first to predict to Śākyamuni (in a previous incarnation and of course bearing a different name) that he too would become a Buddha. His cult image, which I believe attained popularity only in Afghanistan, was always rare in China: see his section in the iconographic chapter on the Buddhas.

2. The mid eighth century *florilegium* of historical references to events in and around Nanking under the Southern dynasties, *Chien-k'ang Shih-lu*, xii, in an entry for 425 records the establishment of a "Pure Garden Convent" two *li* northeast of the city.[5] An appended note from the now lost Liang dynasty "Record of Pagoda Temples" names the donor as an imperial son-in-law, one Wang Ching-shen, on behalf of his mother, "using the site of the mortuary chapel of Wang T'an-chih.[6] In [438] Pang Shu-i donated a building site on the west, and erected halls to complete it. There was a Seven Buddha Hall, two bays across, with clay sculptures of a very refined sort, seldom seen in later generations."

3. One of the generals whose bravery and good sense aided the Sung founder in his advance toward the throne, and strengthened the new dynasty in its critical early years, was a refugee from the North, Wang Chung-te. His biography[7] tells that in his youth, as he was fleeing southwards from the chaos of contending barbarian states, "he lost his way in a great swamp, and found himself unable to go on. He lay down to sleep under the trees, when all at once he saw a lad dressed in blue come up, riding on an ox. When the boy caught sight of him, he asked whether he had any food. Chung-te replied that he was famished; whereupon the boy disappeared, and then soon came back bringing food. When Chung-te had eaten his fill, he decided to continue his journey. Next he came to a river raging in flood, and halted in perplexity. Thereupon a white wolf appeared in front of him, raised its head, and howled repeatedly, begging Chung-te to follow it across the water. He did so, and thus managed to get across." When the Sung founder declared himself Emperor, in 420, Wang was named Governor of Hsü-chou. "He founded a Buddhist temple at P'eng city, and had statues of the white wolf and the boy made to go inside the pagoda."

Tao-hsüan's twenty-sixth entry runs:[8] "The Sung Governor of Hsü-chou, Wang Chung-te, made for the 'Sung Royal Temple,' Sung-wang-ssu, at P'eng city, an eighteen-foot gilded image; which in the dignity and beauty of its bodily form was the most excellent done in the South. When warfare broke out along the northern border, or some calamity threatened the priesthood, the image would all of a sudden break out into a sweat, to an amount that revealed the gravity of the danger; so that the inhabitants of the district were always attentive to its [warnings]."

Hsü-chou was surrendered to the Wei by a self-seeking Sung governor in 467. With this in mind, we pursue Tao-hsüan's story:

[5] P. 4b; see also *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iii, p. 7a, b, where the name is given (with a slight change in one character) as "the Green Garden Convent."

[6] I have been unable to trace Wang Ching-shen, except for a brief mention in the biography of another Wang son-in-law, entered in the *Sung Shu*, lxxxv, p. 5v, under his posthumous honorific Ching-wen. The Sung founder's fifth daughter was first married "to Wang Ching-shen of T'ai-yüan and then was divorced so she might marry Ching-wen." He must have been a refugee from the North, and since his home was in T'ai-yüan (in Shansi) he was probably a relative of the Wang Chung-te discussed in note 7. Wang T'an-chih had been a notable figure of the later fourth century; see Giles' no. 2231.

[7] Biographies (under his actual name Wang I) in *Sung Shu*, xlvi, pp. 1v–2v, and in *Nan Shih*, xxv, pp. 1r–2r. A refugee from T'ai-yüan in the North, whose father and grandfather had served barbarian chiefs. His escape brought him to P'eng city in the mid 390's, where he met and was employed by the future Sung founder. He served as a general on two expeditions to the North, the brilliantly successful raid against Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an in 416, and the disastrous failure against the Wei in 430 (for which see Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1099). He died in 438.

[8] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 419a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, pp. 388b, c).

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"At the outset of the Ch'i regime [in 479–480], the image sweated several times, that being the winter when the Wei bandits were making an advance upon the capital. At the time several districts in Yen-chou [Shantung] broke out in righteous rebellion [against the Wei]. In the adjacent regions to the south great numbers of men flocked together to fight. The defense was aided by [a party of] monks who had been driven out [of the province]. The Wei army butchered its way into their fortified camp; and so as to get rid of them once and for all, a report was sent in to the Wei ruler, falsely accusing them of aiding the rebellion, and asking for the death penalty. At that time so much sweat poured from the image that it soaked the floor of the hall. The Wei Governor of Hsü-chou, the Prince of Liang, a diligent servant of the Dharma, went in person to the temple and ordered a man to wipe off [the sweat] with a silk napkin.[9] It kept on pouring out unceasingly, and though several tens of men finally joined hands and did their utmost to wipe it dry, they could not halt it. In the end the Prince burned incense, made an obeisance, and taking a napkin made this prayer: 'The brotherhood of monks cannot be blamed for having taken an oath to defend themselves. They must not suffer. If there be any reply to my deep sincerity, let [the sweat] cease as I wipe it.'

"When he had spoken, he wiped; and actually it dried under his hand. The Prince reported the whole affair to his ruler, and an order was issued granting a general amnesty."

The chapter on omens in the Wei history contains an entry that for once at least vindicates Tao-hsüan's faith. In the sixth month of 495, when the Wei Emperor had visited Hsü-chou during his short-lived punitive campaign against the South, the district "reported that its eighteen-foot bronze image had sweated [until the moisture] ran along the floor."[10] The earlier story, like most other Buddhist material, probably went into the historian's scrap-basket. This one concerned the ruler, and so was official news.

4. The abbreviated notes at the end of *Meisōden-shō* speak of "fifteen Buddha images" — an implausible number, certainly — "each eighteen feet tall" made by the monk Seng-ch'ang.[11] It is presumably the latter who is referred to briefly in the *Kao Seng Chuan* biography of the better-known Fa-min.[12] "At that time the *śramaṇa* Seng-ch'ang had erected a pagoda inside the city of Chiang-ling, and the Governor Hsieh Hui decided to destroy it. Min learned of [his intention] and went to censure him; but Hui had made up his mind, and would not change it."

The date of this episode may be fixed within narrow limits. Hsieh Hui's biographies show that he became the Ching-chou Governor in 423.[13] He played an important role in court politics of the early 420's, as regent and wouldbe king-maker. When his puppet, Emperor Wen, turned against him and his attempted coup d'état failed, he hanged himself in 425.

5. The life of priest Seng-pao in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, vii, tells that he was a native of the Ch'ang-an area who as a youth had studied under Kumārajīva, the great translator from Kucha.[14] "In the Yung-ch'u era [420–422] he journeyed to the *vihara* on Yellow Mountain, north of Hsü-[chou] . . . There, during a three-week period, he addressed himself to Samantabhadra through a penitential fast. On the seventh day white geese flew down and settled together in front of Sa-

[9] This was Yüan Chia, a grandson of the conqueror T'ai Wu Ti; his biography in *Wei Shu*, xviii, p. 5v, tells that at Hsü-chou, where he was sent as Governor by Kao Tsu (r. 471–499) he showed himself both "stern and merciful." The dynastic annals for 480 and 481 mention several local uprisings in Shantung and the moves made to suppress them, by Yüan Chia among other generals (*ibid.*, vii, 1, p. 7v).

[10] *Ibid.*, cxii, 1, p. 12v. *Re* this campaign, see Wieger, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1162–1165.

[11] P. 17v, from xxvii.

[12] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 372a, from vii.

[13] Biographies in *Sung Shu*, xliv (entire), and in *Nan Shih*, xix, pp. 1r–2v; references in Wieger, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1070, 1075–1076.

[14] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 369b, c.

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mantabhadra's throne, and went away only after the procession with incense was over. As it was drawing dark on the twenty-first day four persons robed in yellow moved in procession several times around the pagoda, and then suddenly disappeared."

The appearance here of a Samantabhadra image (for the story certainly implies one) early in the fifth century is the more interesting since the single figure of that Bodhisattva has been relatively unusual at all times. Even in the highly specialized iconography of the T'ang it is likely to appear only as a pair with Mañjuśrī, on an elephant and a lion respectively, serving as attendants to a central Śākyamuni. The worship of Samantabhadra as a savior seems always to have been overshadowed by the greater popularity of his rival Avalokiteśvara; except perhaps at this early period, before the other's cult had gained momentum. We shall find two other Sung references to Samantabhadra statues below (see entries 8 and 25).

6. The Sung history records that in 428 "the King of Ceylon dispatched two white-robed [emissaries to the Sung court, bearing a flattering letter and] a present of an image from the Tower of the [Buddha's] Tooth."[15]

7. The biography of a certain Hu Sou in the Northern Wei history[16] tells that at one period in his life "he went to Shu [i. e. Szechwan], where he won great popularity for his gallantry. At the time a Shu monk named Fa-ch'eng had rounded up several thousand monks to cast a sixteen-foot gilded image. Liu I-lung [i. e. the Sung Emperor Wen, r. 424–453] mistrusted this organization of so many people, and was about to impose a heavy penalty on them. Sou learned [what was in his mind], and hastened to the capital to describe to him how beautiful it was; and thus won their pardon."

8. The *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, ii, recounts the biography of a nun from Chien-fu-ssu (the first convent established at Nanking) called Tao-ch'iung.[17] In 431 "she had a number of images made for installation at various places. For P'eng-ch'eng-ssu[18] there were two gilded statues complete with hangings and thrones. For Wa-kuan-ssu there was a portable Maitreya, with a jewelled canopy and festoons. For the southern branch of Chien-hsing-ssu there were two images with various paraphernalia, banners, and canopies.[19] For [her own] Chien-fu-ssu she had a recumbent figure [of Śākyamuni entering Nirvāṇa] made, with a hall for it;[20] and also a portable image of Samantabhadra, with ritual utensils that were exquisitely beautiful. Again, in [438] she had a gilded Amitābha figure made, which on the tenth day of the fourth month emitted from its *ūrṇā* a radiance that flooded the whole temple with a golden color."

Two unnamed images suggest the unique pair of Buddhas that is so often represented on stelae of the Northern Wei period: Śākyamuni seated with his double, the Buddha Prabhūtaratna of long ago, within the magically-created *stūpa* of the Lotus *sūtra*.

9. The literary remains of the poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433) include a panegyric on a "Jetavāna image," which presumably was intended to imitate the original seen by pilgrims at the Jetavana Vihāra in Śrāvastī.[21] Since the three verses deal with the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and dis-

[15] *Sung Shu*, xcvii, p. 4r.
[16] *Wei Shu*, lii, pp. 3r–4r; also in *Pei Shih*, xxiv, pp. 5r–6r.
[17] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 938a.
[18] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, ii, pp. 13r–15r. Founded in 361 by the then Prince of P'eng-ch'eng (according to a Yüan dynasty source there quoted). The lineage of the P'eng-ch'eng house is recorded in *Chin Shu*, xxxvii, pp. 5r–6r; without citing anyone named like the donor, however.
[19] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, ii, pp. 10r, 13r, v, says founded in the 343–344 era by the then empress.
[20] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 10r, v, says founded under K'ang Ti (r. 343–344) by Ho Ch'ung (my Chin entry 7).
[21] Preserved in *Kuang Hung MC*, xv (*Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 200a). For the pilgrim Fa-hsien's testimony about the Jetavana, see my section on "the Sandalwood, 'First Image'" in the appendix on the Best Known Indian Images, p. 261.

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ciples respectively, they may have been inspired by a Mahāyāna group with that sort of composition, rather than a single image.

10. The life of the monk Seng-liang included in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii,[22] tells that he "wanted to make a sixteen-foot gilded image, but could not obtain by individual begging the considerable quantity of bronze required. He had heard, however, that in the Bronze Ravine of Hsiang-chou [in Hunan] the shrine of the god Wu-tzu-hsü[23] possessed a great many bronze articles; but that the place was so awesome that no man dared approach it. This gave him an idea, and he asked the Governor Chang Shao to lend him a hundred strong men and ten big boats. Shao said: 'The shrine has such a supernatural power that intruders always die. Moreover there are *Man* aborigines guarding it. What can you hope to accomplish?' Liang replied: 'Even if such be the case, the donor will reap the reward of a good deed; any calamity will fall on my own head.' Shao thereupon furnished the men and boats. For three days and nights they journeyed to the site of the shrine. Liang and his coolies all advanced together. Some twenty paces from the shrine building they saw two bronze cauldrons, [of a size] to hold a hundred pecks or so apiece. Inside was a giant python, 100 feet or more long, that came out to bar their path. Liang stood fast, holding up his crozier and chanting a prayer of several dozen words. All at once the python vanished, and they saw instead a man appear, holding a bamboo tablet. The latter said that he had heard that the Dharma Master's pursuit of salvation was building for him extraordinary blessings, and now found in him a rareness that was delightful. Thereupon he ordered the men to carry off the shrine's bronzes. These were so numerous that the boats were filled before the tenth part had been taken. At the head of the god's dais was a spittoon, in which a lizard some two feet long was crawling in and out. This was discussed, and it was agreed that since the god had a special affection for the object Liang would not take it.

"On departing they met a favorable combination of wind and water; so that when the hordes of *Man* learned what had happened and gave chase, they could not catch them. Once back at the capital, the casting of the image was carried out to completion. Only a flame aureole was lacking; so Sung Wen Ti had a round nimbus made of a gold plate. It was enshrined in P'eng-ch'eng-ssu. In the T'ai-shih era [465–471] Ming Ti moved the statue to the Hsiang Palace Temple, and it is still there."[24]

The nearly identical version of the story told in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xv, adds that the statue was of Amitāyus.[25]

[22] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 411a.

[23] Wu-tzu-hsü was a renegade from the Ch'u state in mid Chou, who served the rival Wu regime as minister; he was posthumously elevated to the rank of God of the Yangtse River. See E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, Shanghai, 1932, p. 577.

[24] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iii, p. 3v, in presenting data on this temple, quotes from the biography of Yü Yüan in *Nan Shih*, lxx, p. 6v. The establishment had been founded by the Sung Prince of Hsiang-tung, who became Ming Ti. "The Emperor used his former mansion to build the Hsiang Palace Temple, at very great cost and in the most extravagant way possible. Since [his predecessor] Hsiao Wu was credited with a seven-storeyed pagoda at Chuang-yen-ssu, he wished to build one of ten storeys. That proving impossible, he divided [the project] into two pagodas of five storeys each. When the Grand Warden of Hsin-an, Ch'ao Shang-chih... was relieved of his post and returned [to the capital], he had an audience with the Emperor, who said: 'My lord has been to the Hsiang Palace Temple; is it not a great good work that We have accomplished in building it?'

"[Yü] Yüan, who was at his side, said: 'His Majesty's building that temple has forced the people to sell their sons and their wives [into slavery]. If the Buddha knows of it, He is surely weeping with pity and grief over the wrong committed. What sort of good work is a lofty pagoda?' "The ruler, in a towering rage, had him driven out of the hall. Yüan left with dignity and without a sign of fear, because of the favor he had enjoyed in the past; and in a few days, indeed, he was again called back to the palace."

[25] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 399c.

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11. The *Kao Seng Chuan*'s life of the Northern monk Seng-ch'üan[26] tells that "early in his career, while he was in the Yellow Dragon Land [in Jehol] he made a sixteen-foot gilded image. On reaching Wu, he also made a gilded image of [a Buddha-] in-the-flesh, for installation in the east temple on Tiger-crest Mountain ... Falling gravely ill, he kept seeing the images that he had made appearing on his western wall, as well as angels coming to tend his sick-bed. His disciple Fa-lang dreamed that he saw a dais held by several persons, who when asked their purpose replied: 'We are welcoming the Dharma Master Ch'üan.' The next day in good sooth the latter died."

The biography adds that Tai K'uei's son Yung cut the stone for his memorial stele.[27]

The type of image referred to as a Buddha-in-the-flesh will be discussed in the iconograpic chapter on the Buddhas.

12. The biography of Tai Yung (378–441) in the Sung history[28] tells that he inherited his father's taste for literary composition and lute-playing, was an excellent calligrapher, and loved to roam in the mountains. He held a nominal military office under the Sung and the post of Tutor to the Heir Apparent; but his heart was always in the mountains, and the most welcome sign of recognition that he received from his contemporaries must have been the gift of a secluded villa and garden, laid out with a completely natural effect.

"With the Han age there began to be Buddha images [in China], but their forms were unskilfully rendered. K'uei was particularly good at that sort of thing, and Yung inherited [his skill]. The Sung Crown Prince had a sixteen-foot bronze image cast for Wa-kuan-ssu, which when completed proved to be unpleasantly thin in the face. The craftsmen were unable to remedy this, so Yung was called in to look at it. He said: 'The trouble is not that the face is too thin but that the shoulders and upper arms are too plump.' He had them ground down and thinned, until the rest was satisfactory."[29]

A similar anecdote is told by Tao-hsüan with reference to the tenth image in his corpus, the sixteen-foot Śākyamuni that had been made in 377 by the monk Hui-hu (Chin entry 13).[30] "At the outset of the Yüan-chia era [424–453], Yung's dislike of its archaic form [led him to] recast it; after which the awe-inspiring body-signs of head and face were as if real. [What he did was] to shorten the height above the shoulders by 0.6 foot and to shave off 0.1 foot from the soles of the feet."

At the end of the account of Tai K'uei given in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xvi, the text continues:[31] "Whenever K'uei made an image he would consult with [his second son, Yung]. The latter was a friend of Chiang I of Ch'i-yang [in Kiangsu], who once commissioned him to make an image of Avalokiteśvara. Yung made every effort, physical and mental, in the hope of achieving something utterly beautiful; but the body-signs were not quite right, and so for years on end the work remained unfinished. Then in a dream someone told him that Chiang I had no *karma*-relationship with Avalokiteśvara, and that the image should therefore be changed to a Bodhisattva Maitreya. Yung stopped work, and hurried to write a letter telling Chiang [the news]. Before he could post it, a letter arrived from Chiang [himself], telling of a dream that tallied completely with his own, down to the very words. Yung was overjoyed at the miracle; and when he changed the statue to a Maitreya, everything that he touched worked out wonderfully well. He did not stop to reflect until the luminous countenance was all at one completed in its full

[26] In vii (*ibid.*, L, p. 369c). See Minor Northern States entry 5.

[27] See Sung entry 12.

[28] *Sung Shu*, xciii, pp. 1v–2r; also in *Nan Shih*, lxxv, p. 5r, v.

[29] Quoted from the biography of the Wa-kuan-ssu abbot Hui-li in *Kao SC*, xiii (*Daizōkyō*, L, p. 410a).

[30] *Ibid.*, LII, pp. 416c–417a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 386b).

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 406b.

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perfection . . . This statue used to be at Lung-hua-ssu in Hui-chi [in Chekiang]. The images fashioned by the two Tai have remained peerless through the passage of time. Their works were so numerous, however, and were scattered in so many temples that it would be difficult to record them all fully."

Tao-hsüan's thirty-sixth entry offers a miraculous tale about a gilded bronze triad, sixteen feet tall, made in the Sui dynasty after originals by Yung, that escaped a temple fire by moving themselves out of danger.[32]

13. Interesting iconographic novelties are reported in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, iii, in connection with the activity of two missionaries from "Chi-pin" (i.e. Kashmir) who reached China in the early years of Sung. The career of the earlier, Guṇavarman, runs almost like a story from the "Arabian Nights."[33] He is said to have been of royal stock, and to have been offered the succession to the throne of his country when he was thirty. The wanderings that he began thereafter took him first to the "Lion Country" (i.e. Ceylon), and then to "She-p'o" (i.e. Java), where his coming had been foretold by a dream of the queen mother. There he thwarted an enemy invasion by the power of loving-kindness, and healed the king of an arrow wound by a spell (leaving the monarch so impressed that he decided to abdicate and turn monk at once). When the news of Guṇavarman's prowess spread to neighboring lands, all sent envoys urging him to visit them, including Wen Ti of the Sung in 424. He chose the latter, embarking in an Indian trading-vessel for Canton. There he stayed several years in a mountain hermitage, under a lone, towering crag that he dubbed – from its similarity to a famous Indian original – the "Vulture Peak." In a neighboring temple "on the north wall of the Jewel-moon Hall, he painted with his own hand a figure of [Śākyamuni's son] Rāhula, and the scene of the scholar-youth spreading out his hair [on the ground before the Buddha] Dīpaṁkara. When finished these emitted light every night, and continued to do so for a long time."

The account goes on to tell at length of his arrival at the Sung capital in 431, of the honors shown him there, of his lecturing and translating, and of his death at sixty-four that same autumn. "After his death he remained seated on his cord-strung dais with an unchanged face, looking as if he were in a meditative ecstasy. More than a thousand people, clerics and laity, hastened toither; all smelt an exceedingly fragrant odor, and saw something shaped like a dragon or snake, a foot or so long, emerge from the corpse's side and rise straight up into the sky . . . At the spot they erected a white pagoda."

Guṇavarman's choice of subject to paint speak for his racial origin; the one region where the Dīpaṁkara story was likely to be often illustrated was Gandhāra and Afghanistan. (See the section on Dipaṁkara in the iconographic chapter on the Buddhas.)

14. The other missionary from Kashmir, Dharmamitra (356–442), took the alternative land route eastward, passing first through Kucha.[34] At Tun-huang he halted long enough to "establish a monastery on a spacious site, planting a thousand trees and opening cultivation on a garden of a hundred *mu*, until with its chambers, pavilions, and pools [the whole] was extremely majestic." His next stop was Liang-chou, the then seat of the semi-barbarian but strenuously pious regime of Northern Liang. In 424 he continued to Szechwan, and thence made his way downstream to Nanking. The court and the imperial family paid him the usual honors, but he preferred to live among the mountains; and so in 453 he began to cut away rock and fell timber to make a temple on the slopes of Mount

[32] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 421a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 390b, c).

[33] *Ibid.*, L, pp. 340a–341b.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 342c–343a.

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Chung outside the capital, piling up meditation chambers and halls storey upon storey.

"When Mitra first left Chi-pin he was guarded on the way by the Devarāja Kapila. On the road to Kucha [the latter] wanted to turn back and so showed himself, saying: 'With your supernatural powers and knowledge of magic you can journey anywhere by yourself. I shall not follow you all the way to the southland.' Having spoken he picked up his shadow and disappeared; after which Mitra made his own way as far as the capital. For this reason [the god's] figure was depicted on a wall of the temple. Down to the present time he still manifests himself in voices and shadows; and when prayers are made purely and with sincerity they are always answered."

The late sixth century history and bibliography *Li-tai San Pao Chi*, x, in referring to this story says that the type of icon of Kapila originated by Dharmamitra "has been continued down to the present day."[35] The life of the Sui monk Chen-kuan given in Tao-hsüan's sequel, xxx, tells of his paying a visit to the temple founded by Dharmamitra, the Upper Ting-lin-ssu, to worship the wonder-working icon of Kapila.[36] "He made an engraved copy of the shadow of the Countenance, serving the image as if it were real."

15. The Japanese summary of the *Ming Seng Chuan* tells us that in 432 the monk Fa-hsiang founded a Maitreya Vihāra; while in 439 the monk Tao-chiao and a layman of the capital "together raised a three-bay Buddha hall, providing it with various ornamental banners; and made a sixteen-foot lacquer image of Maitreya, seated with legs down, whose divine likeness in its awesome majesty caused an expansion of faith and enlightenment."[37]

16. Another Japanese excerpt from the *Ming Seng Chuan* records the experiences of a monk named Seng-piao, from Liang-chou in Kansu. "A man of courage and determination, he had heard of the Buddha's alms-bowl from Puruṣapura, which is now in Kashmir, being continually adored there by five hundred Arhats; and once, indeed, had flown through the air to [his own] Liang-chou with twelve Arhats in its train, staying there six years before it returned to Kashmir. His sorrow that he had not been able to see it [there] led him to travel westward across the Pamirs, in the hope that he might worship it with full devotion. On reaching the land of Yü-pin he found that the road to Kashmir was cut off. The local ruler gave him lodging there, and conceived the idea of making a copy of the Buddha's bowl as a gift for him. He asked him, furthermore, whether there was anything else he would like to have. [The pilgrim] replied that what in foreign lands was commonly called closest of all to the True Form was owned by [the realm of] Ts'an-mo-chia-lo; and he asked for that to worship. The king accordingly ordered his skilled craftsmen to fashion a gold-plated image with a golden halo, a total of ten feet in height, and had a genuine relic set on top of the *uṣṇīṣa*.

"With these [gifts] Seng-piao started back to Liang-chou, only to discover that the Liang regime had just been overthrown [by the Northern Wei in 439]. He decided to make a detour and head for the sea. As he was passing through Hsin-p'ing-hsien in Shu [i.e. Ch'eng-tu], priest Tao-wang sought to detain the bowl and image for worship. They are now [housed] at Lung-hua-ssu there. Seng-piao entered that monastery, worshipped the stone image [of Prabhūtaratna?], stayed two years, and then died; so goes the story."[38]

For the "stone image" see Chin entry 24; for the "gold-plated image" see the chapter on materials.

I have not been able to identify satisfactorily

[35] *Ibid.*, IL, p. 92c.
[36] *Ibid.*, L, p. 701c.
[37] *Meisōden-shō*, p. 14v, from xxvi.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 13r, from xxvi.

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either of the two place names transliterated into Chinese. "Yü-pin" recalls the familiar "Yü-tien" standing for Khotan.

17. In this general period may be set a story told in the *I Yüan*, an anthology of marvels compiled during the Sung regime by a certain Liu Ching-shu.[39] The wife of a man named Ch'en Yü "was a faithful devotee of 'the Mother with the Demon Children' [i. e. the goddess Hārītī], and to please her used to have woman's music played. One night when they were meeting as usual the strings and reeds gave forth no sounds, and the singers could only groan. In addition the wife dreamed that Hārītī [showed herself] agitated and in tears, saying: 'Some cruel men have just gotten inside the house.'"

"[It turned out that] through the housekeeper's connivance, outsiders had been able to set a ladder against the outer wall and climb in. They had stripped off the goddess' robes [as part of] their plunder, and before leaving had chopped up and burned her image."

It is clear that the figure referred to must have been a wooden or a lacquer one; and it is likely that the goddess only was represented, without children (since the tale would have been even more shocking and memorable if it had added that they too had been wantonly destroyed).

18 *Fa Yüan Chu Lin* expatiates on the grandeur and beauty of Ho-tung-ssu, "the temple east of the river" at Chiang-ling, which was founded in 383 at the time of Fu Chien's invasion to accommodate refugee monks from the north bank of the Yangtse.[40] It remained one of the major monastic establishments of the South throughout the Six Dynasties; at the outset of the Sui it housed some 3500 resident monks and several thousand more transients.

"The main hall is thirteen bays long, and has cross-beams fifty-five feet in length running between two rows of columns only. With its brackets and bearing-blocks piled up in tiers, it is the very crown of the realm. It was built by a disciple of the Heaven-filling monk Tao-an, the Dhyāna Master [Tan]-i, and has stood from the Chin until the T'ang without suffering damage. The pagoda in front of the hall was erected by [Liu] I-chi, Prince of Ch'ien under the Sung (426–448).[41] The clay images inside it were made by craftsmen from the Tuśita Heaven. Inside the Buddha hall there are many gilded bronze images with jewelled curtains [held up by] angels, and festoons of real pearls: all these made by the deities of the Lokapalas' realm."

The combination of a pagoda and clay statues is known in a surviving monument of considerably later date in Japan, at Hōryūji, completed in the early years of the eighth century. Other contemporary examples in Japan are attested by texts.[42] The usage was certainly borrowed from the continent, and may go back to a Chinese prototype as distant as the one described above.

19. The life of the nun Hui-mu given in the *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, ii, says that she "was a Northerner... who went to live at a convent in Ying-ko village in Liang-chün [in Kiangsu]. In the Yüan-chia era of Sung [424–452] she made images of the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters."[43]

This is our first clear reference to the Mahāyāna thesis of the plurality of Buddhas through-

[39] Quoted by Kobayashi T., "The Karitei Worship and Her Images in China," (in Japanese) *Journal of the History of Chinese Buddhism*, (i. e. *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku)*, II, 3, 1938, p. 10.

[40] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 598a, b. Also in *Lü-shih Kan-t'ung Chuan*, *ibid.*, XLV, no. 1898, p. 877c.

[41] Third son of Wu Ti; biographies in *Sung Shu*, lxi, pp. 9r–10r, and in *Nan Shih*, xiii, pp. 11v–12r. These, as so often is the case, say nothing about his patronage of Buddhism, dwelling instead on his incurable weakness for wine. He was put in charge of the upper and mid Yangtse regions in 439, and was moved to the northeast in 447 (where he died at P'eng city).

[42] See article by Naito T. in *Tōyō Bijutsu*, XIII, 1931 (the French title page reads "Toyo Bizyutu, Tome Quinze"), pp. 1 ff.

[43] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 938c.

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out the Universe. The "ten quarters" are a schematic sum of directions: the eight major compass points supplemented by up and down.

20. The Sung history, in the account of Buddhism that is somewhat awkwardly inserted under "India" in its chapter on foreign relations, contains the text of a petition addressed to the Throne in 435 by the governor of the capital district, Hsiao Mo-chih.[44] His complaint is Buddhist wastefulness. In the four dynasties during which China has suffered the alien religion, its temples and images have grown into the thousands. Ostentation rather than true piety rules the day; while mansions fall into dilapidation, their owners boast of new Buddhist works; "the waste of bamboo, bronze, and silk is beyond calculation." He asks that in future all who wish to cast bronze images or to build pagoda-temples should be required to apply to the proper authorities in advance, for permission.

The governor's suggestion was followed by a new restrictive law. The theoretical basis of his argument was attacked thereafter by several Buddhist partisans. The reply of one, the minister Ho Shang-chih (382–460), is preserved in the anthology *Hung Ming Chi*, xi.[45] His chief argument is the social usefulness of Buddhism. In a decadent age it is the most effective teacher of morality; its precepts have triumphed even over the ferocity of the barbarian tyrants of the North. Against all this the material expense that it entails should be negligible. There is a curious incidental reference to "the recent miracle of the descent of the Most High Avalokiteśvara, in which He displayed His body for everyday folk to see with their own eyes."

21. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, viii, includes a biography of the monk Hsüan-ch'ang, a native of Kansu.[46] Unsettled conditions in the North forced him to flee twice: first to the Northern Liang capital, Liang-chou, after his family had been wiped out by nomads; then in 445 to the South, in the wake of the ferocious anti-Buddhist persecution unleashed by the Northern Wei ruler. On his way to safety he was twice nearly caught by the Tartar cavalry, and both times saved himself by miracles: once raising a flood, and once concealing himself in a river under a leaf. He passed through Yang-chou, was feted at the Sung capital and offered the post of Tutor to the Heir Apparent, and finally made his way far up-river to Szechwan. There he lodged in Ch'eng-tu at Ta-shih-ssu:[47] "and with his own hand painted sixteen figures of deities, Vajra-bearing guardians and the like."

The number sixteen, as applied to guardian figures, is a surprising one at this date, and will be discussed in the chapter of summary.

22. The *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, iv, says of the nun Ching-yüan (435–506) that "as a child she had an adult's wisdom.[48] At five or six she piled up sand to make a *stūpa* and cut wood to make an image. A whole day was not long enough for her to burn incense and offer worship."

It is clear that the girl must have been carrying out her part in the spectacular contract offered by the "Lotus *Sūtra*," which promises munificent repayment even to children who make *stūpas* or images of the most common-place materials.[49]

23. The next item is drawn from the *Tao-hsüan*

[44] *Sung Shu*, xcvii, p. 4v.

[45] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 69a–70a. Ho's biographies in *Sung Shu*, lxvi, pp. 2vff., and in *Nan Shih*, xxx, pp. 1vff., tell that in 446 he chided the Emperor for wanting to set up replicas of the three "fairy isles" in the new palace lake; for working the laborers who were constructing the new park through the summer heat with too little rest; and for the extravagance of the imperial journeys. He was thus as well qualified in censure as his antagonist.

[46] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 377a, b.

[47] Ta-shih-ssu means "the great stone temple"; presumably it housed the colossus referred to in Chin entry 24 and Sung entry 16.

[48] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 946c.

[49] In chapter ii; see the translation by H. Kern in the *Sacred Books of the East* series (Oxford, 1909), XXI, p. 50; and with reference to the whole passage, my p. 184 below.

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Lü-shih Kan-t'ung Lu, a purported transcription of information furnished Tao-hsüan by a series of angelic visitors.[50]

"The auspicious image of Lung-kuang-ssu on the south side of the [Yangtse] River is said by some to have been brought to [China] by Kumārajīva, [and by others] to have come from Fu-nan [i. e. Cambodia]. Which, [I asked], is true? His answer was that it was not Kumārajīva's, but was captured in Fu-nan in the campaign waged there under Hsiao Wu Ti of the Sung.[51]

"Of old, in the third century after the Buddha's Nirvana, a great North Indian Arhat, Upasena, added his miraculous powers to human skill so as to excavate a great stone mountain and make a place for a Buddha cave. From top to bottom there were five storeys, to a height of some three hundred feet. The Bodhisattva Maitreya was asked to direct the making of a chapel with a sandal-wood image. Master Hsüan-tsang says that [the latter] was a hundred odd feet high; while the 'Record of Holy Places' gives it eighty feet, the sole of the foot being eight feet long, and notes also that it would emit light on all the six regular monthly fast days. While it was being made the Arhat transported the craftsmen up to Heaven [to observe Maitreya's person], completion requiring three visits.[52] The second [storey] is for ox-head sandal-wood images; while the third, fourth, and fifth are for jade, gold, and bronze ones respectively.[53] Commoners at the present time are shown only the contents of the bottom storey, the top four being closed. So brilliant is the light in the cave that it makes a man's very intestines transparent.

"In the sixth century [after the Nirvana] there lived an Arhat named Fo-nai-che, whose mother had died at his birth, which took place in the land of Fu-nan. Remembering her many acts of love, he took from the top storey [sic] a small sandalwood figure and devoted it to worship on his mother's behalf. She later was reborn at Yang-chou, renounced the world to live cloistered at Hsin-hsing-ssu, and obtained the Third Fruit, [non-return to mortality]. That the image should have been secured and brought to [China] after Hsiao Wu Ti's campaign was also achieved by the Arhat's miraculous powers. The mother is still alive at the present time, and has visited [the sacred mountains] Lo-fu and T'ien-t'ai as well as various places in the West. In the old days T'an-wu-chieh visited the West twice. His travel record in five chapters contains a brief mention of this image."[54]

The statue's history is continued in Tao-hsüan's biography of the Ch'en dynasty monk Chu-li, noted as a supervisor of temple reconstruction and decoration, after the civil wars.[55]

"Realizing the ruinous state of the land south of the river, and the scattering of monastic communities, he took up his staff and set out on a journey to look for a preeminent site. When he reached Chiang-tu [i. e. Yang-chou in Kiangsu] and found Ch'ang-lo-ssu there, he was satisfied. In [593] he erected a five-storeyed pagoda, whose golden disks glittered as they mounted upward, so that people came from far and near

[50] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 437c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, pp. 395c–396a).

[51] This statement is erroneous in two respects. It was not Fu-nan (i. e. Cambodia) that was invaded under the Sung, but the more northerly state of Lin-i (i. e. Champa). The war took place not under Hsiao Wu Ti, but in 446 under his predecessor, Wen Ti. See *Sung Shu*, xcvii, pp. 1rff.; *Nan Ch'i Shu*, lviii, pp. 3vff.; and *Liang Shu*, liv, pp. 1rff.; summary in Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1101–1102.

[52] On this statue, see the section in the Appendix on the "Colossal Maitreya Statue," pp. 268ff.

[53] "Ox-head sandalwood", so-called because its source was said to be an "Ox-head Mountain" (of disputed location), was the most highly prized variety. As to the description of the chapel as a whole – its excavation from solid rock into five individually distinguished storeys – it seems possible that Tao-hsüan's angelic informant was plagiarizing from the accounts given by Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang of a great temple site in South India (discrepancies in what *they* had to say, and the generally fantastic character of their descriptions as well, probably are due to the fact that neither visited the site in person). See Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. lxviii–lxix; and II, pp. 214–215.

[54] T'an-wu-chieh's travel record has been lost; his biography is given in *Kao SC.*, ii (*Daizōkyō*, L, p. 338b).

[55] In xxix; *ibid.*, p. 695a, b.

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to admire it. In [597 the future Sui Yang Ti], then governing the river and sea- coast, put him in charge of temple maintenance and construction. . . . Now Wu Ti of the Liang had obtained the image of King Udyāna, a divine blessing that beggered description, [and had installed it] in Lung-kuang-ssu at [the Southern capital]. With the fall of the Ch'en the temple was burned down. Li therefore took charge of the sacred form as well as of the image of Dīpaṃkara Buddha that had been obtained by Wang Mi,[56] and transferred both to Ch'ang-lo-ssu."

There he worshipped them devoutly, and finding the temple too cramped, began an extensive program of rebuilding. In 614 "he used his personal funds to have a copy made in odorous sandalwood of the blessed image with two Bodhisattvas, which when completed was installed in the same pavilion [that he had built for the original]. When the Sui regime collapsed in [618] clerics and laity fled, and skeletons filled the cross-roads and market-places like so much dried wood. [Chu-li] swore to guard his halls and pavilion with his own person. The temple became the lair of foxes and rabbits; he had no other company than the sight of his own shadow, and lived on pulse and water. He endured all this through cold and heat, and though he was physically an old man, grew all the more sturdy in spirit. As the plaster flaked off he would go around burning it; and while his hands were occupied with roofing repairs, his mouth would chant unceasingly. At the sight of him bandits were moved to pity, and often would reform and aid him in his repairs.

"When the Imperial T'ang received Heaven's mandate, the great Dharma spread far and wide. Monks from the olden time and the remnants of congregations cooperated in the work of reconstruction. Though the city [of Chiang-tu] had been burned the temple still stood. In [623] a bandit leader on the south of the river, Fu Kung-shih, began to raise an army and plot a revolt.[57] A hundred temples and Taoist monasteries, in round numbers, were removed by him to Kiangnan. Li twice wrote him, offering to burn his own body in front of the pavilion if his temple buildings might remain. [Fu] had usurped a sacred title, but his instincts were all destructive; and so though he received the letters he paid no attention. Li therefore said to his disciples:

'Through innumerable aeons I have accumulated desires without ever being able to sacrifice my life to thank the Dharma-grace. Now it is my purpose to end myself before the Buddha, for I cannot bear to see His image taken across the river. Do you pile up dry straw so that I may burn myself as an offering. After my annihilation the image will have to cross over to the south; but place inside it my clothing and other possessions. Your tears shed in mourning me will have a miraculous effect, and the Truth must bring a general reformation.'

So saying, he bathed himself with a fragrant liquid; sat down cross-legged facing west; and drew to him the fire, which burned him to death in its coals. He was then in his eightieth year; the date was the eighth day of the second month of [623]. When his life departed the fire went out. His hands remained fixed in prayer until the cremation was complete, when instantly all was changed. When he began to burn himself in front of the Buddha, a flock of magpies cried out with very shrill voices in pity, and flew seven times around him clockwise before they went away.

"After his death the image actually was taken away to the south, but halls, pavilion, dormitories, and corridors escaped burning... and nowadays the statue has been returned to its proper pavilion."

[56] See Sung entry 1.

[57] Biographies in the Old *T'ang Shu*, lvi, pp. 3v–4r, and in *New T'ang Shu*, lxxxvii, pp. 2r–3r. Set himself up as Emperor of a so-called Sung dynasty, maintaining his position 13 years until he was finally caught and executed.

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For later notices of the Ch'ang-lo-ssu image, see the section in the appendix on the Udyāna image.

One obvious discrepancy exists between Tao-hsüan's two accounts. In the first he records his angelic informant's statement that the statue originated in the collection housed beside the colossal image of Maitreya (presumably in the little frontier kingdom of Darel, north of Gandhāra), and was transported to Nanking in two stages by the magic of a Cambodian Arhat. The other claim, that it was a King Udyāna statue secured by Liang Wu Ti, seems to involve a further confusion. We shall find Tao-hsüan telling of a *copy* of the Udyāna image that Wu Ti's agents secured in India and brought back to the Liang capital (see entry 5 under the Liang). That had, however, a quite different history from this, in other temples and cities. The pious historian seems to have confused Wu Ti's copy with the story *rejected* in his first account, which held that the real Udyāna image had been brought to the east by Kumārajīva, via the Central Asian city of Kucha. As we shall see below (in my entry 7 under the Minor Northern States, and the appendix on the Udyāna statue) the full-fledged Kumārajīva version holds that the image was first captured at Kucha in 384 by a Northern general; then carried to Ch'ang-an in 402; and finally seized there by a Southern army in the raid of 417–418, and taken to Nanking to be housed at Lung-kuang-ssu.

24. The chapter on religious suicides in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xii, includes the following biography:[58]

"The monk Seng-ch'ing came from a family named Ch'en, living in An-han district in Pa-hsi (in Szechwan). His people for generations had belonged to the 'five pecks of rice' cult;[59] he alone was enlightened from birth. At the age of thirteen he took orders and went to live at I-hsing-ssu, where he led a life of purity and austerity in the hope of seeing the Buddha. He began by sacrificing three fingers, and finally vowed to sacrifice his body. He gradually gave up eating grains until he was subsisting entirely on scented oil. Finally in [459] on the eighth day of the second month, at Wu-tan-ssu in Shu city, facing westward in front of the image of Vimalakīrti that he had made, he burned his body as an offering. The Governor Chang Yüeh came out in person to observe [the act]; and the whole city poured out [to see], clerics, laity, lodgers in the old Taoist establishments, [everyone]. The clouds had been moving close-linked [overhead], and a cheerless drizzle had been falling; then all at once the skies cleared and the sunlight came through, [making everything] look clean-washed and pure; and something like a dragon was seen to emerge from the ashes and mount to Heaven. This was in his twenty-third year. The Grand Warden of T'ien-shui [in Szechwan], P'ei Fang-ming, had the ashes collected and a pagoda raised over them."

25. The life of the monk Tao-wen included in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, vii, tells that he was a native of Kansu and descended from the well-known Huang-fu Mi.[60] As a youth he took a gentleman's proper delight in lute-playing and calligraphy, and served his parents with all due filial piety. Taking orders at sixteen he went to Mount Lu to study under the great Hui-yüan; spent a time in further study at Ch'ang-an; and then went south again in the Yüan-chia era (424–453) to T'an-chi-ssu in Hsiang-yang. "He was an expert on the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and also understood mathematics." Because the Hsiang-yang com-

[58] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 405c.

[59] An erstwhile secret society, founded in the first century A. D. in Szechwan as part of a move to give popular Taoism the power of an organized church. See Wieger, *History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions of the Chinese* (translation by E. T. C. Werner), Hsien-hsien, 1927, pp. 377–378; also H. Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes*, II, *Le Taoisme*, Paris, 1950, pp. 149ff.

[60] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 372b–373a. Huang-fu Mi is Giles' no. 854.

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mandant, Chang Shao, tried to persuade him to return to secular life (as a compliment), he left the region. In 454 he reached the Sung capital; in the Ta-ming era (457–464) he was made superior of the monks in the capital and other cities.

In 460 "on the eighth day of the tenth month a maigre feast was held in the Dhyāna hall of Chung-hsing-ssu [to celebrate] the completion of an image of Samantabhadra by the Dowager Empress Lu Chao.[61] The two hundred monks who had been invited assembled in the order of their names until the total was reached; for at that time the temple was newly built, and was guarded with great strictness. All at once a monk of most noble bearing came in belatedly and took a seat. The whole hall gazed at him intently while he engaged the master of the feast in a conversation of several hundred words; then as suddenly he disappeared. When searchers asked the watch at the gate, they were told that no one had been seen entering or leaving. The brothers then realized that he was a divine being."

The text continues with a kind of pastoral letter by Tao-wen, describing the occurrence in more vivid detail. He opens with a eulogy of the Empress Dowager, who "amid the sounds and splendors of the palace served the cause of emptiness and austerity. She conceived the idea of casting or carving a representation of the divine beauty; and so fashioned, by imitation, a great image of the likeness of Samantabhadra in His coming, pouring out her treasures [so as to insure that] the celestial adornments would be perfect. The maigre feast and discussion that was held took place on the eighth day of the present month. Since the accommodations were limited, a list of names was settled on. [The guests] entered in order and took their places, to a number that was neither too many nor too few. We were half-way through the *sūtra*, and the light was at its best when suddenly we noticed that a strange monk had taken [one of] the seats. His mien was majestic, and his aura poured forth luxuriantly. The whole congregation was astonished; no one could identify him. The master of the feast asked him: 'What is Your Holiness' name?' He replied: 'My name is Hui-ming.' 'In what monastery do you dwell?' His answer was: 'I come from T'ien-an, Heavenly Peace.'" ... This was taken as a great good omen, and the Dhyāna hall was made into a monastery of its own called T'ien-an-ssu. By way of secular recognition of the portent, furthermore, the district was raised one step in status. There were in the end even international repercussions: we read in the Northern Wei history that the tale of the mysterious visitor prompted the pious Emperor Hsien Wen (r. 466–470) to begin his reign with an era named T'ien-an (Wei dynasties entry 7).

Tao-hsüan refers to the statue as a "Samantabhadra riding."[62] Different texts disagree as to whether the next character should be *hsiang* for "elephant" or the almost identical hsiang for "image"; but since Samantabhadra rides only on the elephant the difference is immaterial. Instead of "riding" the *Kao Seng Chuan* has *lai*, "coming"; here too the variation may be disregarded, since the classic description of Samantabhadra's coming as savior, in the "Lotus *Sūtra*," dwells so impressively on his six-tusked white elephant steed that no other form of motion can have been imaginable.[63]

26. The Liang bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, xii, includes in a long group of occasional pieces (now lost) a "Record of Emperor Hsiao Wu's Making A Gilded Image of Amitābha."[64] This was the husband of Empress Lu, who reigned from 454 to 464. The T'ang *Chin Ch'ün Chi*

[61] Consort of Hsiao Wu Ti; lived 411–465. Her biographies, in *Sung Shu*, xli, pp. 9v–10r, and in *Nan Shih*, xi, p. 3r, v, say nothing about any patronage of Buddhism.

[62] In *Chi Shen Chou SPKYL*, iii; *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 434b; also in *Fa Yüan CL*, xvii (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 408c).

[63] "Lotus" chapter xxvi; in the Kern translation, pp. 431 ff. See also my section on Samantabhadra in the iconographic chapter on the Bodhisattvas.

[64] *Daizōkyō*, LV, p. 92b, c.

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claims in addition that he enriched Wa-kuan-ssu by thirty-two gilded images, making it foremost among the "480" temples.[65]

27. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, x, tells of the career of an eccentric wandering friar of Sung who was remembered only by his secular name, Shao Shih.[66] "A native of Shih-k'ang [in Szechwan] he had no fixed abode, and was as wild and unpredictable as an animal. Men found his big mouth, eyebrows, and eyes repulsively ugly, but little children loved to chase after and play with him. Sometimes he would go into a tavern and get drunk with the others; but by nature he loved the Buddhist Dharma, and whenever he saw an image he would always worship it, praising it gladly and then weeping, bitterly. He had had three sons and two daughters; the eldest son, Hui-sheng, left the family [to take orders, as did] Shih himself at the outset of the Sung. He called himself Master Shih. In his comings and goings he was heedless of night and day; he travelled in succession through the various districts [of Szechwan], and even visited among the *Man* aborigines. Everywhere by word and deed he terrorized [people] into goodness... When Ch'eng-tu had its image procession on [the Buddha's birthday], Shih would be found among the monks, crawling along in the guise of a lion... He died [in 473] at T'ung-yün-ssu on Mount Min. On his deathbed he told the cleric Fa-chin to expose his corpse, being sure to tie his shoes to his feet. This was done, and the corpse was taken outside of the temple. Three days later it could not be found. All of a sudden a man came from P'i-hsien who when he met Chin said: 'Yesterday I saw Master Shih in the market-place, wearing only one shoe, and crying out that the boy shouldn't have lost his other shoe.' Chin was astounded, and inquired of a novice, who replied: 'When we were taking the corpse out a little while ago, we couldn't properly fasten the shoe on the right foot, so that it got lost.'"

This is our first reference to the kind of elaborate Buddha's birthday procession, with masked figures and entertainers, that is described in more generous detail under the Northern Wei (see my entries 3, 12, 16, 23, for that dynasty).

28. The monk Tao-wang, whose career is outlined in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, vii, entered the order under Hui-yüan on Mount Lu.[67] "For several decades he subsisted on a diet of vegetables alone. Once when he was travelling through Liang-chou [in Shensi] he was surrounded by a party of Tangut bandits and lost his robe and bowl. He and several disciples all together prayed devotedly to Avalokiteśvara; whereupon they felt something like a cloud covering their bodies, so that the bandits could not find them and they made their escape." Reaching Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan, he set up a temple that he named after the famous Jetavana in India. He made such a name for himself there that the Governor reported his virtues to the Sung Emperor, and the latter invited him to become the abbot of a temple at the capital; he declined, pleading ill health. "In a pass people had frequently seen a supernatural light shining from the cliff by night. In the Ta-ming era [457–464], a devout local official invited Wang to set up a temple at the place where the light shone; so the cliff-side was carved into an image, and buildings were set along the narrow ledge. Passers-by would look up with reverence, and all would grow pure in heart."

The early date of this first recorded cliff sculpture in the Southwest suggests that it was inspired not by Yün-kang but by the cave shrines excavated by the Northern Liang regime in the neighboring province of Kansu (see entry 9 under the Minor Northern States).

[65] By the later ninth century author Lu Kuei-meng; included in his anthology *Li Che Ts'ung-shu*, and quoted by Ōmura, p. 145.

[66] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 392c–393a.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 371c.

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29. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies" contains a life of the Sui monk Hui-sheng, who was one of the eminent clerics chosen by the first Sui ruler to administer his policy of erecting relic pagodas throughout the realm.[68] One of the relics that he was to distribute in the South he took to "Fa-meng-ssu in Chi-chou (in Kiangsi). Digging to a depth of 8 feet he found one Kiangsi plank, six old bricks, and two silver phials, from which he obtained one relic that would float in water, turning this way and that; also a jewel that no one could identify, whose body contained nine colors. All of this was reported to the Throne.

"The temple owns an auspicious image. In [461] one Fa—chün dreamed that he saw a golden countenance of rare [beauty] and heard Sanskrit syllables sounding pure and far-away. In consequence he made his way to the Three-bend River and saw an image deep in the water, from which a light floated on the surface. Together with the Governor Chou Chan and others he pulled it out. It might have weighed a thousand catties and yet [it seemed] as light as if it had been no more than the same amount of *liang*. Its body was 6.4 feet tall, and was made of gilded bronze. Subsequently Ch'ang-sha-chün sent in a halo and pedestal to the capital; Emperor Wen ordered that they be forwarded to where the image was, and lo! they fitted exactly, making a total height of something over 9 feet. Under the bottom edge of the Buddha's robe was a Sanskrit inscription in ten words or so. At first no one understood it; later a Western monk read it as follows: 'Made by the fourth daughter of King Aśoka of Chia-wei-lo-wei [i. e. Kapilavastu] kingdom.' It had all of a sudden disappeared [there], and then had turned up here.

"At the end of the T'ien-chien era [502—519] under the Liang it several times emitted a light sufficient to illumine the whole hall. Wu Ti came to invite it to his capital, upon which the occurrences ceased. In [541] theBuddha's body poured out sweat, that being the year when Liu Ching-hsüan turned bandit and set fire to the city.[69] The temple also burned down, except for the Buddha hall. In [544] the Buddha again sweated. The Prince of Hsiang-tung welcomed it to Chiang-ling, where it emitted light for three days and then stopped.[70]

"In [565] under the Ch'en it was redecorated. Thus its miracles have been remembered from age to age, and in various places it has been copied.

"Hui-sheng in person served and prostrated himself before it, and pictured it in a glory. Structure and spirit were virile, and it was really a well-handled likeness; which is the reason why recent ages have made light of it."[71]

The grand Sui relic distribution seems to have resulted in a *reductio ad absurdum*. Every province reported its gratitude for the imperial favor by enumerating the marvellous occurrences that followed the receipt of the relic and the search for a proper site in which it might be buried. There were routine emissions of light and portents in the sky; one site was visited by a phoenix; at another when the relic was uncovered, the closed doors of a mountain god's shrine opened of themselves, as the deity came out to adore; re-

[68] In x; *ibid.*, p. 507b, c.

[69] Tao-hsüan has given by mistake the name of a Sung soldier of fortune, who at one stage in his career fled from the consequences of an unsuccessful revolt to serve the Northern chiefs Yao Hsing and Mu-jung Te. He was invited home again by the future Sung founder, only to be executed later in another abortive coup (*Chin Shu*, lxxxiv; *Sung Shu*, xlvii; *Nan Shih*, xvii). On the other hand the Liang annals for 422 (*Liang Shu*, iii, p. 9r) speak of a rebellion led by one Liu Ching-kung.

[70] This was the future Emperor Yüan, who had been enfeoffed as the Prince of Hsiang-tung in 508. I have uncovered no event in 544 that could explain a sweating portent. Perhaps the story-teller's intention was merely to indicate that the statue wished to be moved at that time to Chiang-ling, and indicated its restlessness in the classic way.

[71] This unexpected outburst is probably to be explained by another passage of Tao-hsüan's (quoted by Ōmura, p. 432, without citing a specific source). "With the T'ang dynasty, [Buddhist] paintings have all acquired dignity, but are so soft and weak that [the figures] look like young dancing girls. As a result we hear the boast that the palace beauties are like Bodhisattvas."

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markable objects were discovered in the earth. The "auspicious image of Fa-meng-ssu" fits perfectly into this setting of wholesale fraud. Its story is a frank imitation of earlier and more famous discoveries; the statue is not even included by Tao-hsüan in his own corpus.

30. A paragraph in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xiv, runs:[72] "As a lad of tender years, Wang Yen of T'ai-yüan received the Five Commandments from a sage Dharma Master in Chiao-chih (i.e. Tonkin), and was ordered to offer worship to a gilded image of Avalokiteśvara. Later he brought this back to the capital on the Yangtse, and installed it at Nan-chien-ssu.[73] One day while sleeping he dreamed that the image was standing by the corner of his seat. This made so strange an impression on him that he hastened to take it back to his own residence. That same night [the temple] lost a dozen or so statues to thieves, who smashed them and melted them down to make currency. In [463] in an autumn night [the image] emitted a radiant aureole of three feet or so, which with its dazzling reflections on the gold was witnessed by the whole household. Thereafter it was lodged at To-pao-ssu."[74]

Yen spent ten years at another post. Then, "on returning to the capital, he dreamed that at the east end of his hall there was a whole crowd of small statues very clearly visible. On the morrow he built a temple just like the one in his dream, and got back [his image]; the date being the thirteenth day of the seventh month in [479]."

The text continues by quoting the preface to Wang's lost *Ming Hsiang Chi*, which comments on the use of icons and the need for iconographic correctness. It mentions the fact that:

"In the West there are two images, a Śākyamuni and a Maitreya, that are as gloriously efficacious as if they were real [Buddhas]; the reason being that they possess the proper body-signs. Nowadays we Chinese make splendid replicas, to which the divine response has been most apparent. In this very year the host of living beings, as their degree of understanding moves them, may rely on wood or stone to make manifest the profound mystery; and their success will not necessarily lie in any exceptional beauty of appearance. For it was the sunken stone [statues of Kāśyapa and Vipaśyin], floating so deep, that led to a widening of conversions in Min and Wu; and the gold [image found by Wang Mi], all dirt and slime though it was, proved able to enlarge the good fortune of the Sung [house from] P'eng."[75]

The two Western images referred to were probably the legendary sandalwood statue made for King Udyāna, and the colossal Maitreya mentioned in entry 20. "Min and Wu," standing roughly for Fukien and Kiangsu, seem to be a euphemism for the whole coastal region of middle China.

31. The bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, xiii, lists several pieces pertaining to the reign of Ming Ti (465–472).[76]

"Text of the Prayer Uttered by Ming Ti of Sung on First Making [a Maitreya under?] the Dragon-tree."

"Record of the White Jade Image made by Lady Ch'en, Imperial Concubine of Ming Ti of the Sung."[77]

"Record of [the same lady's] Making a Colos-

[72] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 388c; Wang Yen is discussed by Wright, "Biography and Hagiography," p. 418. In my translation of this story in *Oriental Art*, II, 1, p. 31, I fell into the pitfall of mistaking the sense of *wang*, and so called him "the Prince of T'ai-yüan, Yen."

[73] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iii, pp. 20v–21r, quotes evidence for its location and cites several notices in connection with the careers of Six Dynasties monks.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 25v–26r, does the same. The title of this temple indicates that it was probably dedicated to the ancient Buddha Prabhūtaratna, or to the "Lotus" chapter in which He is manifested; see my pp. 180ff. below.

[75] References to my Chin entry 4 and Sung entry 1. Re the mention of Wang Mi's image as conferring prosperity on the Sung house, see my p. 249 below.

[76] *Daizōkyō*, LV, p. 92b, c.

[77] Her biography in *Sung Shu*, xli, p. 13r, v, contains nothing relevant.

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sal Clay Image for Fa-lun-ssu, and a Nirvāṇa Image for Hsüan-fu-[ssu]."[78]

An apparently garbled entry refers to "a portable image with the demon-deities of the Eight Classes," with the donors named as "Sung Ming Ti, Ch'i Wen Huang, Wen Hsüan." These last two were imperial Princes of the Ch'i house, whom we shall meet again in entries 5,6 and 13 under that dynasty. I cannot understand how as boys they could have been co-donors with the Emperor; perhaps they completed a commission which he was forced to leave unfinished. This is at any rate our first meeting with the "Eight Classes," a category of fearsome guardians habitually mentioned in the Mahāyāna *sūtras* as forming part of Śākyamuni's audience. Their period of popularity in art will begin much later then this, in early T'ang.

In this same period may be set, for convenience, two other, undated entries in the bibliography:

"Record of Making Maitreya Image[s?] for His Three Meetings, by the Capital and Outlying Towns."

"Record of a Brass Image of Amitāyus Presented by the Realm of Lin-i (i.e. Champa)."

For the connection of the "Dragon Tree" and the "three Meetings" with Maitreya, see his section in the iconographic chapter on the Bodhisattvas.

32. In the life of the monk Fa-yüeh recounted in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, we learn that "Ming Ti of the Sung tried in four successive castings to make an eighteen-foot gilded image; and failing, had the height altered to fourteen feet."[79] For the further attempts to complete this colossus, which were successful only at the outset of the next century, see my entry 3 under the Liang.

33. Both the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xi, and the *Ming Seng Chuan*, xxiii, contain short lives of a monk from Tun-huang named Tao-fa, who travelled to Ch'eng-tu on a missionary impulse, and became the abbot of two monasteries there.[80] The slightly longer version preserved in the Japanese excerpt tells that "whenever he begged food or was served at a maigre feast, he would use part of his own portion to feed the insects and birds. He used to sit in meditation and chant, day and night without a halt. At night he would strip off his clothes before the image of Maitreya, to give the mousquitoes something to feed on. After several years had gone by in this way, he saw the Maitreya emit lights of various colors. As the lights turned white, he descended to Hell, where he saw all the actions of the past and the people who were suffering punishment for them. He was also an expert at reciting spells. He died in a trance in [474]."

34. One of the Japanese notes taken on the contents of the *Ming Seng Chuan*, xxviii, refers to the fact that "the meditation chamber of Seng-chih contained a sixteen-foot gilded image."[81] It is presumably this same monk who reappears in the *Kao Seng Chuan* biography of Hui-tz'u, a popular preacher and teacher whose recorded activity ranged from the 450's to 490.[82] Tz'u was a resident of "the Hsieh clan's temple"; Chih is named as one of a group of exceptionally learned fellow-monks who were his contemporaries there.

Four other notes refer to unidentified monks, who for convenience may be set here:

"A sixteen-foot image of Śākyamuni seated with legs down, made by Hui-mu."[83]

"Five gilded images with curtains for a pulpit, made by Hui-piao."[84]

[78] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iii, p. 19v, says that Fa-lun-ssu was founded by the Sung minister Ho Shang-chih (Sung note 45), and cites several other well-known individuals connected with it. The other temple seems to have been overlooked.

[79] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 412c.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 399b; *Meisōden-shō*, p. 12v.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[82] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 379b, c (from viii).

[83] *Meisōden-shō*, p. 15v (from xv).

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 16v (from xxv).

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"A five-foot, gilded image of Amitāyus made by Tao-ching."[85]

"A sixteen-foot Amitāyus made by Hui-ching."[86]

35. The twenty-fourth entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus is explained as follows:[87] "In the T'ai-shih era of the Sung [465–471] a certain Ho Ching-shu . . . was in the train of the Governor of Hsiang-chou [Hunan] as a district inspector. Though young, he was devout; so that when he chanced upon some sandalwood, he had it made into an image. When completed, [the figure] lacked a halo. He inquired systematically and with zeal, but it proved impossible to find any more sandalwood. [One day] he was leaning on a table, thinking about this, when half awake he saw a monk with cassock and staff come up to him and say:

"Sandalwood is unobtainable, and common woods are improper; but at the back of the city a certain family named Ho has a paulownia shield that it would be proper to use. Although they are very careful of it, you will get it if you ask earnestly enough."

"On rousing he inquired of his attendants and found that the case was actually as he had heard. He sought earnestly to buy. Mr. Ho said:

"'I do have a shield that I am extremely attached to; and being worried lest people ask for it I have never shown it to anyone. How can the government have learned about it? Did you merely ask in the market?'

"Ching-shu told him what had happened. Mr. Ho was surprised and delighted, and gave it to make the halo.

"Later on Ching-shu became Prefect of Hsiang. While on duty one night he dreamed that the image said: 'A rat is gnawing at my foot.' On the morrow he hastened home to look at the statue, and found that it was so."

36. The life of the monk Fa-hsien included in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, tells that:[88] "He had heard how Master Meng had travelled in the West, witnessing marvels everywhere; so he too took a vow to disregard his own person and go to see the holy places. In [475] he set out from the capital, heading westward through the regions of Pa and Shu. His route left from south of the river, passed through the lands of the [nomad] Jui-jui, and finally reached Khotan. He wished to continue across the Onion Range [i.e. the Pamirs], but found that the wooden causeways [through the gorges] had been demolished. So he finally turned back from Khotan, having obtained one Buddha's tooth, fifteen grains of relics, a charm of Avalokiteśvara to lessen retribution [for sins], and the 'Chapter on Devadatta.'[89] Also he secured and carried home a gold-embossed image from Kucha."

"Master Meng" is a reference to the pilgrim Chih-meng, who left Ch'ang-an in 404 and journeyed to the places associated with the Buddha's life.[90]

37. Tao-hsüan's sequel contains the life of a monk Seng-lang, who took part in the grand distribution of relics under the Sui.[91] "In the Jen-shou era [601–604], when the relic pagodas were being set up, he received an imperial order to take a relic to Fan-chou [in Kwantung], i.e. to what is

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 17r (from xxvii).
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 17r (from xxviii).
[87] *Daizokyō*, LII, p. 418c.
[88] *Ibid.*, L. p. 411b, c.
[89] In Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the "Lotus" (*ibid.*, IX, no. 262, p. 34b), this counts as chapter xii. In the Sanskrit version used by Kern it is the later half of xi, "Apparition of a *Stūpa*," as it is also in the earlier Chinese rendering by Dharmarakṣa (*ibid.*, IX, no. 263, p. 105b). It has been frequently claimed that "the Devadatta chapter" as such was lacking in Kumārajīva's original version, and was first translated and incorporated in the current "Lotus" text by Fa-hsien himself in the 483–494 period (see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 4804b). The point is of interest in the development of Buddhist beliefs, since Devadatta had enacted in Hīnayāna tradition a role rather like that of Judas; while the new "Lotus" doctrine stresses the fact that even he will in time become a Buddha.
[90] Biography in *Kao SC*, iii (*Daizōkyō*, L, p. 343b, c).
[91] In x (*ibid.*, pp. 507c–508a).

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now called Kuang-chou, and to the present Jewel Pagoda of Kuo-shih-ssu on the Vulture Peak . . . West of the temple, on the side facing Shui-chen Shan, he excavated under the brush and thorn trees to a depth of six feet, and found three stone coffers. Two of these contained a single bronze coffer apiece, holding two silver images and two silver angels. The other held a silver phial enclosing a gold one, but had no relic. An inscription read: 'This pagoda was raised under the Sung in [473].'"

38. A section on monastery miracles in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xxxix, tells of the erection in 474 at Nanking of a temple with a pagoda under the name Chien-yüan-ssu, the donor being the same Lady Ch'en whom we have met in entry 28.[92] "The relic emitted light nightly. At the rear of the great hall were painted the two figures of Kapila Devarāja and the Lokapāla Vaiśravaṇa. Whenever a monk behaved improperly or a serving-boy was irreverent, [these gods] would always display some marvel of shadow or echo to bring them back to respect and awe. When [someone came] in deep sincerity and penitence to expose his heart in supplication, there would always be a sound of finger-snapping in the air. Sometimes they would make the rounds, standing guard."

This is our first reference to the Guardian King of the North. It is conceivable that he was painted with his companion on the rear surface of the wall behind the main image, so as to face the rear door, and stand guard against the especially malign influences that might threaten from the North; i. e. in the position of the threatening *Vajra*-bearer at the rear of the eight century Hokkedō of Tōdaiji, at Nara in Japan.

39. The *Kao Seng Chuan*'s life of the monk Hui-chi (412–496) dwells on the qualities of character and scholarship that made him much sought after in his day.[93] After declining a second imperial invitation, tendered in the 473–474 era, "he went to the Tortoise Mountain in Hui-i [in Kiangsu], and founded the Treasure-grove Vihara. With his own hands he piled up clods and stones, and he directed [the work] in person. With girders to bridge the chasms, his construction followed most faithfully the configuration of the mountain. At first he raised three storeys, with carpenters who were clumsy and small-minded. Later this was damaged in an earthquake, and afterward he added to its adornment, until finally it was the ultimate in loveliness. Chi had once dreamed that he saw Samantabhadra inviting him to become a monk; so when his temple was completed, he had images made for it of Samantabhadra and His six-tusked white elephant."

40. The now-lost *Ming Seng Chuan*, xi, as summarized in the Japanese *Meisōden-shō*, tells that in 477 one Seng-yeh built a "Temple of the Merciful One," Tz'u-shih-ssu, and that another priest, Hui-yen, had a Maitreya image made for it.[94]

41. The Southern Ch'i history records that in the spring of 478 the minister Hsiao Tao-ch'eng (who was soon to usurp the throne as the founder of the Ch'i line) submitted a petition asking for stricter sumptuary laws.[95] He asked particularly that the people's use of gold and silver be sharply cut down, and that they be prohibited from making gilded bronze images without express permission.

The following notices of Sung Buddhist paintings are drawn from the *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*:

42. By Lu T'an-wei: an "Ānanda and Vimalakīrti . . . preserved until the [T'ang]."[96] See also Chin entry 14.

43. By Lu Sui: a "standing Śākyamuni . . . still extant."[97]

[92] *Ibid.*, LIII, p. 594b.
[93] In viii (*ibid.*, L, p. 379a).
[94] P. 15r. [95] *Nan Ch'i Shu*, i, p. 6v.
[96] *Keisekken*, V, p. 1v; Ono, pp. 176, 346.
[97] *Keisekken*, p. 1v; Ono, pp. 176, 347; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 25r.

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44. By Ku Pao-kuang: "Indian monks . . . still extant."[98]

45. By Yüan Ch'ien: "Angels"; "High Priests of the Eastern Chin"; and a scroll in more than a hundred scenes, illustrating the Vimalakīrti story; all of these "preserved until the [Sui]."[99]

46. By Hsieh Ling-yün: see Chin entry 14.

47. The indefatigable seventh century monk Tao-shih, who assembled the enormous *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, is credited with another *florilegium* in thirty chapters, the *Chu Ching Yao Chi*, designed to illustrate by quotations from the scriptures and edifying tales the character and results of good and evil actions. In a section on the proper treatment of monks we find the note:[100]

"Toward the end of the T'ai-shih era of Sung [465–471], the monks Fa-yüan of Cheng-sheng-ssu and Fa-ching of Cheng-hsi-ssu began the practise of painting holy monks, shown in separate seated likenesses."

I conclude with a group of anecdotes whose historical value seems to be minimal.

48. Tao-hsuan's seventeenth entry concerns a gilded image of Mañjuśrī, made in 425.[101] One day it disappeared from its owner's private chapel, and was gone for five years, in spite of his sorrowful entreaties. Then, just as mysteriously, it came back again for him to worship.

49. The eighteenth entry tells of a peasant who in 435 found that whenever he burned his fields a certain patch of grass would not catch afire.[102] Finally he dug there, and "obtained a bronze seated image some 0.3 feet high. Investigation proved that the site had never been inhabited, so noone could decide how it came to be there."

50. The nineteenth entry tells of a nun who had visions after severe fasting.[103] While stationed at Ch'ang-an she had seen a red-and-white light in her own convent, and later a monk had found a gilded Maitreya image 0.1 feet high in the same spot. At Chiang-ling in 437 she saw a purple light rising from a tree; and later, when the prior started to build a meditation hall under the tree, they looked up and saw among the branches another miniature gilded image.

51. Tao-hsüan's twenty-first entry tells of a hawking party in 438 that saw a hawk and pheasant fall together.[104] Looking for the birds, in a meadow that was being burned over, they came upon an area that had not caught fire; and there discovered a gilded figure of a seated Bodhisattva, 0.1 feet high including the base, of most cunning workmanship. The local authorities assumed that it had been stolen, but could locate no owner, and so in the end presented it to the Throne.

52. Tao-hsüan's twenty-second entry tells that a Prince K'ang of the Sung line while stationed at Ching-chou built a three-bay hall to adore *sūtras* and images, and had the walls painted with a number of Bodhisattva figures.[105] When he was

[98] In the same texts, pp. 2r; 177, 347; and 25r (which says it was in two scrolls, and had been part of the Sui imperial collection).

[99] In the same texts, pp. 4v; 182, 350; and 23r (which says the Vimalakīrti had been in the Liang imperial collection).

[100] *Daizōkyō*, LIV, no. 2123, p. 42a, b. *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iii, p. 35v, tells of Cheng-sheng-ssu that it was formerly a private mansion, and was turned over to Buddhist use, with Fa-yüan as prior, in 471. The other temple, if my notes are correct, is not listed. I owe the reference from Tao-shih's work to Wen Fong of Princeton University. The biographies of the two monks named, which contribute nothing more to Tao-shih's note, are in *Kao SC*, p. xiii; *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 416c–417c.

[101] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 418a.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 418b.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 418b. The nun's biography is in the *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, ii; *ibid.*, L, pp. 937c–938a.

[104] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 418b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 388a).

[105] The Prince posthumously named K'ang was Liu I-ching (403–444), a nephew of the Sung founder. Biographies in *Sung Shu*, li, pp. 7rff., and in *Nan Shih*, xiii, pp. 3rff.; the official estimate of his character complains that "late in life his patronage of Buddhist monks reached a level of ruinous extravagance." See also Chin entry 6; and for Prince Wen, Sung note 41.

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replaced by Prince Wen, a son of Wu Ti, the building was secularized. "Everything was plastered over; but no sooner had this dried than it peeled off, leaving the painted forms fresh and clear. Again they were plastered, with the same result. The Prince was an unbeliever, and thought all this accidental, so he had the walls more heavily plastered; but even then one could still pick out the painted figures dimly, like smoke. The Prince then gave orders to demolish the walls and rebuild them entirely. Not long afterward he fell ill, and whenever he tried to sleep would see the figures crowding close-packed in front of his eyes. At that he gave up the whole idea, and moved elsewhere."

53. Tao-hsüan's twenty-third entry concerns a devout maiden who in the second quarter of the century made up her mind to become a nun, and continually made offerings to a miniature gilded image.[106] Her parents made plans to marry her; she flung herself down sobbing, vowing to die rather than submit. The image thereupon emitted a golden light that filled the whole village; and the startled parents surrendered.

54. *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, lxxix, tells a story of a gang of villagers who during a severe famine in the 460's methodically stole miniature bronze Buddhas from the temples in their neighborhood, "until their loot filled four bags; whereupon they took them home and melted them down to make currency."[107] An investigator from the capital discovered that supernatural vengeance had been visited on them; they died howling, and their bodies were found to be scorched and split as if they had been burned to death.

55. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, contains a life of a certain monk of Ch'ang-kan-ssu, T'an-ying, who suffered from an apparently incurable skin eruption.[108] He used to pray day and night to an image of Avalokiteśvara in his cell to take away his ailment. Once he saw a snake crawl out from behind the statue,up the wall into the ceiling; and shortly thereafter a little mouse fell from the same place, covered with the snake's spittle and apparently dead. When watched closely, it turned out to be still alive, however, and the sight gave the monk an idea: he took some of the venom to spread on his own sores, and found that they healed forthwith. "Then he understood that both the snake and the mouse were the results of his prayers."

[106] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 418c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 388a, b).

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 874b, c.

[108] *Ibid.*, L, pp. 415c–416a.

SOUTHERN CH'I

A. D. 479–501

1. The summary of Buddhist good works given in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, claims that the Ch'i founder (r. 478–482) "copied the 'Lotus *Sūtra*' with his own hand, and chanted the *Prajñāpāramitā* in person. For the eighth day of the fourth month [i. e. the Buddha's birthday] he would always have a gilded image cast."[1]

2. Tao-hsüan's twenty-fifth entry says that "in the Chien-yüan era of Ch'i [479–482] there used to be a stone image from Fu-nan [i. e. Cambodia] at the 'Vaiśālī Monastery' in [Canton].[2] How it had come there is unknown. It was most unusual in form; and seven, eight, or even ten men would be required to lift it." One day the temple's

[1] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 503a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL.*, c (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 1025b).

[2] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 418c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL.*, iv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 388b).

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thatched roofs caught fire and the statue was endangered. A group of nuns stood by, at their wits' end. At last three or four tried to move it; whereupon it rose up as if of its own accord, and was moved out of the fire's path. Later, on the recommendation of the Governor of Kuang-chou, "it was removed to the capital. At present it is answering [prayers] at the old Chiang-chou-ssu."

3. The Southern Ch'i history records that in 484 "the King of the realm of Fu-nan, Jayavarman, sent as envoy an Indian holy man, the monk Nāgasena, with a letter to the Throne, and as gifts a seated Nāgarāja image in gold openwork and a statue of white sandalwood."[3]

Contact with Fu-nan at this time brought the south Chinese regime a degree closer to India. The kingdom, doubtless first established through the enterprise of Indian immigrants (in the first century A. D.?), seems to have been politically and culturally reorganized in the fifth by a second wave of conquest. The new invaders probably came from the southeast coast of India; their kings' names were formed with the standard suffix *-varman*, like those of the monarchs who were to rule later at Māmallapuram, and the writing used in their numerous inscriptions looks like an archaic form of the Pallava alphabet later familiar throughout south India. Embassies from this new dynasty — the Kauṇḍiṇya? — were first sent to the Sung court in 434. The Jayavarman mentioned here opened relations with the Southern Ch'i, and continued them with the Liang until his death in 513; after which intercourse was maintained with even greater frequency by his successor Rudravarman until 539.

Whereas the Chinese records make it clear that the state cult of Lin-i, or Champa, was a form of Jainism, they identify the chief deity of Fu-nan as Śiva. The Ch'i account (calling the god Maheśvara, in the fashion standard in Buddhist literature) speaks of his maintaining contact with the ruler and realm through a sacred mountain, Mo-tan. The text goes on to eulogize the virtues of "the Bodhisattva"; not, I think, by abrupt transition to a rival cult, but because Śiva had probably been accepted for the time being in the Cambodian Buddhist pantheon as a Bodhisvattva, with attributes similar in many ways to those of his Buddhist *alter ego* Avalokiteśvara. The version given in the Liang history says in addition:

"They make the god's image of bronze, with two faces and four hands, or with four faces and eight hands; each hand holding something, like a baby, or a bird or animal, or the sun or moon."

4. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, xi, contains a life of a monk named Hui-ming who is said to have been of Sogdian stock, his ancestors having emigrated to Eastern Wu.[4] "In the Chien-yüan era he and another *śramaṇa* ascended Mount Red-city, Ch'ih-ch'eng Shan [in Chekiang] to a grotto where they discovered the uncorrupted corpse of Master Yu. His meditation hut was overrun by brush, however, and no one was following his lofty example. So they hired workmen to clear the site and set up new buildings, and had statues made of a recumbent Buddha and of Master Yu [himself]. Subsequently [Hui-ming] settled down there to meditate and chant, for the rest of his life [remaining] like a dried-up stick."

"Master Yu" was the celebrated hermit from Tun-huang known as Chu T'an-yu; he is said to have died on the mountain in the 376—396 era of Eastern Chin, after which his corpse remained in the pose of meditation.[5]

[3] *Nan Ch'i Shu*, lviii, p. 5r; continued in *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 2v. On this country's history and culture, see P. Pelliot, "Le royaume de Fou-nan," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême Orient*, III, 1903, pp. 248ff., and especially, p. 259. His translation of this passage has "elephant of white sandalwood" where I have "image" (the two *hsiang* characters involved differ only in lacking or having the "man" radical, and are often confused by copyists). See also L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n. s. xli, 1951, Philadelphia, pp. 24ff.

[4] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 400b.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 395c–396a.

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5. One of the sons of the second Ch'i ruler, Hsiao Tzu-liang, known as Prince Wen-hsüan of Ching-ling (460–494) was a fervent Buddhist.[6] Under his name a treatise on ascetic practises has been preserved in *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xxvii: the twenty-ninth paragraph includes this statement:[7]

"In erecting various pagoda-shrines, with their halls and precious spires; in colored paintings and wooden images, or in gold, silver, bronze, and stone, whereby the body-signs are transmitted and the Dharmakāya is displayed – in good works of this sort I now find complete happiness."

The bibliography *Ch'u San Ts'ang Chi Chi*, xii, lists under the Prince's name records of three makings, as follows:[8]

"[Maitreya's] Assembly under the Dragon Tree."

"Portable Image with the Demon-deities of the Eight Classes" (? see Sung entry 31).

"Golden [*Sūtra ?*] Treasury on a Seven-treasure Dais."

Kuang Hung Ming Chi, xvi, also contains a composition by the celebrated contemporary historian and litterateur Shen Yo (441–513), a "Record of the Inscription on the Buddha's Halo," which concerns a Śākyamuni image made by the Prince at the time of his grandfather's death in 482.[9] The language is as usual obscure and highly allusive, but contains passages of interest for us.

"Now the First Principle is truly immaterial, and all the rules of moulding cannot convey it. [Yet] the phenomena of Karma follow on definite causes; and if there were no forms, there would be nothing to affect them. So the sun's brilliance and the moon's color shine down outside the Heavens; their brightness is shed everywhere, on every foot of Earth . . . [The text continues to eulogize the Emperor and to call attention to the son's grief]. So in this fourth year of the Imperial Ch'i . . . his [grand] son in all reverence has had an image of Śākyamuni fashioned. Its revered beauty comes from Heaven's art, not from human making. Its color tallies with the shadow left [in the Nāga's cave?]; its perfection exceeds that of the sandalwood [image]."[10]

6. A piece by Shen Yo in the anthology *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xvi, refers to "a stone Maitreya that the Crown Prince had made."[11] This was presumably his friend and patron, Prince Wen-hui; i. e. Hsiao Ch'ang-mao (458–493), the eldest son of Wu Ti. The Prince's biography[12] notes that "he and the Prince of Ching-ling, Tzu-liang, were both lovers of Buddhism. He set up a hospital to care for the poor. His temperament was extremely aimiable, but by nature he was thoroughly extravagant. In his palace the major buildings were all decorated with carvings more beautiful than the Emperor's own." The account goes on to describe his great park, full of towers and pagodas, and landscaped with a rare cunning. "He had his state robes woven of peacock's feathers." He died shortly before his father and was given the courtesy title of Wen

[6] Biographies in *Nan Ch'i Shu*, xl, pp. 1ff., and in *Nan Shih*, xliv, pp. 2vff. Two articles (in Japanese) by Ami Y. deal with his literary interests: "On the Literary Activity of Hsiao Tzu-liang, Prince of Ching-ling, during the Southern Ch'i," in *Tōhōgaku Ronshū*, II, March 1954, pp. 116ff.; and "On Eight Literary Men who made Friends with Ching-ling Wang," in *Ochanomizu Studies in Arts and Culture*, IV, Dec. 1953, pp. 1ff. Incidents that testify to his piety as a Buddhist are his having tried to persuade his father, Wu Ti, to give up hawking, and his introducing monks into the palace to chant during the Emperor's last illness.

[7] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 306ff., especially section 29, p. 320b.

[8] *Ibid.*, LV, p. 92b, c. P. 93a lists notices of several other kinds of donations.

[9] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 211b, c. Shen Yo, the first of the prince's eight literary friends (note 6 above), as also the author of the Chin, Sung, and Ch'i histories. His biographies are contained in *Liang Shu*, xiii, pp. 2vff., and in *Nan Shih*, xlvii, pp. 1rff; also Giles' no. 1702.

[10] For the text of the first two sentences, see Quotations H. The similes used in the last sentence refer to two of "the best known Indian images" discussed in the Appendix.

[11] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 212b.

[12] *Nan Ch'i Shu*, xxi, pp. 1ff.; also in *Nan Shih*, xliv, pp. 1rff.

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Ti. Under that name the *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, xii, has several entries:[13]

"Record of Ch'i Wen Ti's Making a Painted Sandalwood Image."

"Record of Ch'i Wen Ti's Making an Eighteen-foot Stone Image on White Mountain, and an Image on the Hill of Meditation."

His name also is included in the obscure title that I have translated in entry 31 under the Sung.

"White Mountain," Pai Shan, rises some thirty *li* east of Nanking, and on the north runs into the She Shan range, which as we shall see in entry 11 below was the site of extensive excavations for cave shrines at the end of Ch'i and beginning of Liang. The Crown Prince's name appears among the donors to that project; perhaps both of the mountain statues referred to here were in some way associated with it.

7. The preface to another panegyric by Shen Yo preserved in *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xvi, on "a Woven Image," notes that in 486 Lady Ch'en, mother of the third imperial grandson, had the abbess of Lo-lin-ssu make a woven icon of Amitāyus.[14]

8. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, x, tells of a monk named Fa-kuei,[15] attached to the "Orange-grove Temple" at the capital, who "took up a collection to make a sandalwood image, and when it was completed held a great maigre feast." On the morrow he was seen taking his noon-day meal at three places simultaneously, as eye-witnesses later agreed. The day after he died peacefully in his cell. "His corpse was exceedingly fragrant, and his hand remained pliable, with two fingers extended. The brothers realized that he had attained the Second Fruit [of salvation]. At the time he still had the status of a novice, but the supernatural manifestations [that began to take place] were very curious. They were finally called to the attention of Wu Ti [r. 483 to 493], who made a visit in person to entertain the monks and offer worship. Princes Wen-hui and Wen-hsüan also went to the cell to prostrate themselves and make arrangements for burial. The populace came in great crowds to see, and made repeated offerings. From the proceedings a pagoda was erected at the 'Orange-grove Temple,' the year being [489]."

9. The Southern Ch'i history, xviii, in a chapter on "Good Omens"[16] records that in 489 "Yüeh-chou [in Kwangtung] submitted to the Throne a white pearl 0.3 feet long, that in its natural form was an image of the Buddha in contemplation. The All-highest forwarded it to Ch'an-ling-ssu, to be placed under the central mast [of the pagoda]."

10. The same chapter records that in 489 "the Director of Documents in Chekiang, Chu Ling-jang, found a supernatural stone that it took ten men to lift, but that floated in water at a depth of three feet. Shih Tsu [i. e. Wu Ti] in person had it dropped into the Heavenly Gulf Lake [in the palace park] as a test. It was carved into a Buddha image."[17]

Fa Yüan Chu Lin, xii, improves the story considerably by asserting that the Chu who found the stone was a descendant of the Chu Ying who brought the two floating stone Buddhas ashore in 313.[18] "It so happened that His Imperial Majesty Wu of the Ch'i had just erected Ch'an-ling-[ssu], with a seven-storey pagoda of great beauty and splendor.[19] Now this good omen had occurred not far away, in full accord with [the happy

[13] *Daizōkyō*, LV, p. 92b, c.
[14] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 212b, c.
[15] *Ibid.*, L, p. 393b, c.
[16] *Nan Ch'i Shu*, xviii, p. 9r. Also recorded, in an entry for 487, in *Li-tai SPC.*, iii (*Daizōkyō*, IL, p. 44a).
[17] Same references as in note 16, the *Li-tai SPC* entry being for 486.
[18] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 379c.
[19] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iv, p. 6v, assembles references, including a mention of the claim that the temple was stripped of its treasures to decorate the bower of the last Ch'i ruler's favorite concubine.

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condition] of the times. The court advisers took counsel and decided that it would be fitting to make of it a perfect offering, imitating and making manifest the Dharmakāya. So the stone sculptor Lei Pei and others were commanded to make a Śākyamuni image, whose seated height would be 3.5 feet, or including pedestal and nimbus, 6.5 feet. They exhausted all the ingenuity of cutting and polishing, and reached the limits of cunning in gilding and decoration."

Another composition by Shen Yo preserved in *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xvi, is devoted to the "auspicious stone image."[20] In a vein of fulsome flattery the author praises the Ch'i regime, whose benign influence reaches from the uttermost depths of the earth to the azure sky, under which "Heaven halts not its good omens, nor does Earth hold back its signs of felicity." A happy phrase is repeated: the image in stone should be "better than depicting the wondrous form in sandalwood, or representing the shadow left behind in the Jetavana."

11. The Southern Ch'i history, describing the last days of Wu Ti's reign in 493, tells that on his deathbed he gave orders for the disposal of his personal effects and for the method of his burial.[21] Included is the injunction:

"Do not destroy or get rid of my jade image in the Hsien-yang hall, my various Buddhas, and my offering paraphernalia. As I have directed elsewhere, they are to be worshipped and offered to whole-heartedly."

(Interestingly enough the orders continue to prohibit men from leaving their families to become monks before the age of sixty, and from giving their mansions to be turned into temples.)

12. The summary of Buddhist good works given in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, says of Ming Ti (r. 494 to 498) that he "copied out an entire Tripiṭaka; had images made of the Thousand Buddhas; chanted the *Prajñāpāramitā;* always clove to the 'Lotus'; and built Kuei-i-ssu."[22]

13. Northeast of Nanking there rises a roughly pyramidal mountain called She Shan or Ch'i-hsia Shan; the site both of a still-celebrated temple, Ch'i-hsia-ssu, and of an extensive series of cave shrines (now mostly ruinous, or disfigured by repairs).[23] A few references from the latter half of Southern Ch'i deal with the donation of statues to this latter project, which it is safe to assume was initiated in imitation of the Northern Wei excavations at Yün-kang. The most detailed evidence is provided by two stelae, one of the Ch'en dynasty and the other dated 676.[24] The earlier, composed by a high Ch'en official, Chiang Tsung-ch'ih, is known only through quotation in a local gazetteer of 1693, the *She Shan Chih*, by Wang Che-hung. The T'ang memorial is preserved at the site.

Both stelae make the project originate with a scholar recluse of the later fifth century, Ming Seng-shao; a person held in high esteem by both the Sung and the Ch'i courts, who combined a thorough discipline in the Confucian classics with a great enthusiasm for Buddhism.[25] To his simple retreat on Mount She he welcomed a priest from the "Yellow Dragon Land" in the far north, Fa-tu, whose specialty was the cult of Amitāyus. The Ch'en stele says that in 489 he surrendered his villa to Buddhist use as a temple. He had once dreamed of a Buddha aureole on the cliff-side, and so decided to establish a cave-shrine there; but died too soon. His second son, Chung-chang, carried out his wish by excavating a cave on the rock face of the western peak, and joined with Fa-tu in carving a Buddha Amitāyus with two Bodhisattvas there.

[20] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 211c–212a.
[21] *Nan Ch'i Shu*, iii, p. 8v.
[22] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 503a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, c (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 1025b). Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1169, comments on this ruler's superstitious gullibility.
[23] Description from Tokiwa D. and Sekino T., *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, Tōkyō, 1927, IV, pp. 1ff.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–12; also in *Nan Ch'ao SK*, iv, pp. 9vff.
[25] Biographies in *Nan Ch'i Shu*, liv, pp. 1v–2r, and in *Nan Shih*, l, pp. 3v–4r.

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The Buddha, seated, was 31.5 feet tall, and the throne 4 feet more. The two Bodhisattvas were each 30.3 feet tall. The Ch'i Heir Apparent with the other Princes of the blood (including our Wen-hsüan) and lesser grandees gave generously to complete the good work; and the huge rock was polished away to make "a million myriads of magically multiplied Buddhas." In 511 the Liang Grand Marshal, Prince Ching-hui of Lin-ch'üan (473–526), the younger brother of Wu Ti,[26] poured out his personal wealth to add to the embellishment.

The T'ang stele tells a somewhat different story. There the pioneer monk, the founder of Ch'i-hsia-ssu, is the Dharma Master Seng-pien. The villa-owner is made to die in 484; after which his son, following the example of King Udyāna, had an image of Śākyamuni carved. The *śramaṇa* Fa-tu added to the work, making ten or more caves with holy images; and in 516 the Prince of Lin-ch'üan had an image of Amitāyus carved that from ground to tip of aureole was 50 feet tall.

Fa-tu's biography in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, viii, unfortunately tells nothing about his part in opening the cave-shrines.[27] Instead it concentrates on his bravery in establishing Buddhist worship in so forbidding a spot; most of the text deals with his meetings with a fearsome tutelary deity, whom he tames and persuades to give up enjoying blood sacrifices. It is noteworthy, of course, that he came from the far north, and so very likely saw the Yün-kang caves for himself before he came to Nanking.

The Japanese archaeologists Tokiwa and Sekino describe a "Great Buddha Cave" at the site that contains a very badly restored statue of Amitāyus about twenty-four *shaku* high, squatting on a six-*shaku* throne. With an allowance for the difference in measures used (the *shaku* is very close to the English foot), the dimensions check well enough with those given in the Ch'en stele to suggest that this is what remains of image carved by Ming's second son. At the same time, we shall find that the biography of the foremost Liang specialist in colossi, priest Seng-yu, attributes to him the designing of "the great image on She Shan" (see Liang entry no. 3). Apparently no trace of a second colossus remains; so it is most natural to assume that Seng-yu acted for the Liang Grand Marshal in completing a statue that had been blocked out in the 490's (as we shall see, the other two Liang commissions on which his fame was based were of this same sort). The theory leaves us with no trace of the Śākyamuni spoken of in the T'ang stele; presumably the statement is in error.

The *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, iii, contains a biography of the nun Chih-sheng (427–492), who in her last years enjoyed the special esteem of the Emperor.[28] In turn "she gave up her robes and bowl in order to make a stone Buddha at the temple on She Shan, for the sake of seven rulers of the Sung and Ch'i houses." (It is conceivable that the text is imprecise at this point, and that she actually made a Buddha for each of the seven, after the pattern of dedication established at the outset of the Yün-kang excavations; for which see entry no. 6 under the Northern Wei).

14. The life of the monk Seng-hu in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, tells that he "went to dwell on Mount Stone-city, Shih-ch'eng Shan, at Yin-yo-ssu.[29] North of the temple there was a blue cliff that rose straight up several hundreds of feet, and had right at its center something shaped like a Buddha's aureole. On top it was heavily wooded, with overhanging branches that cast a deep shadow. Whenever Hu walked toward this cliff he would suddenly see a light shining and hear the sound of musical instruments and voices chanting hymns. In consequence he took an in-

[26] Biographies in *Liang Shu*, xxii, pp. 1rff., and in *Nan Shih*, li, pp. 7rff.

[27] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 380b.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 942c–943a.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 412a, b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xvi (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 407b, c).

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cense burner and uttered a vow to open up the mountain and carve a hundred-foot stone Buddha, in reverent imitation of the thousand-foot form of Maitreya [in India]. He notified all those persons whose *karmas* permitted them to look together toward [Maitreya's] Three Meetings; and in the Chien-wu era of Ch'i [494–497] summoned together clerics and laity. Carving and excavation were begun, but years passed and only the face was completed; by which time Hu had fallen ill and died. On his death-bed he made this prayer: 'What I am doing I have never expected to finish in one lifetime. May my vow be fulfilled within a second body.' Later a certain monk Seng-shu took up the task that remained and continued it, but his resources did not permit him to achieve completion."

Since this rock-cut colossus was finished only in 516, with a radically altered design, the remainder of its story will be found as entry no. 4 under the Liang.

The following entries, on Buddhist painters under the Southern Ch'i, are taken from the *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, vii:

15. Tsung Ts'e did paintings for the Buddha's Shadow Terrace of Yung-nieh-ssu.[30]

16. A son of the painter Yao T'an-tu, who became a monk under the religious name Hui-chüeh, did a design for the Jewel Terrace of Pai-ma-ssu that was preserved until the T'ang.[31]

17. Mao Hui-hsiu's paintings of "a Western Monk" and "Śākyamuni with His Ten Disciples" were both preserved until the T'ang.[32]

[30] *Keisekken*, V, p. 6r; Ono, pp. 191, 353.
[31] *Keisekken*, p. 6v; Ono, pp. 192, 353.
[32] *Keisekken*, p. 8v; Ono, pp. 195–196, 356; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 22v, says both of these paintings had been part of the Sui imperial collection.

LIANG

A.D. 502–557

1. According to the Liang history, in 503 "the King of the realm of Fu-nan, Kauṇḍiṇya Jayavarman, sent as envoy the *śramaṇa* Maṇḍala with a gift of a Buddha image of coral."[1]

2. A *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xiv, paragraph runs:[2] "After the Liang founder had ascended the throne, he venerated Buddhism and repressed Taoism. Often he would invite high priests for discussions of abstruse philosophical points. In addition he made two life-sized gold and silver images, which he served morning and night in the Hall of Piled-up Clouds, Ch'ung-yün-tien. For fifty years and more, winter and summer, he would stand on stone six times a day without fail, until the marks of his ten toes showed the place where he had trod. Finally he exhausted his store of blessings; but though the throne was seized by Hou Ching, the statues were still there to be worshipped.

"Then the Grand Marshal Wang Seng-pien slew Hou Ching and rescued the imperial city.[3] When Yüan Ti moved [his seat] to Chiang-ling and Chiang-nan was left masterless, however,

[1] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 4r.; Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," p. 269.
[2] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, pp. 389b–390a.
[3] Biographies in *Liang Shu*, xlv, entire, and in *Nan Shih*, lxiii, pp. 1rff.; Giles' no. 2217; Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1222–1223, 1228. One of the two most sucessful Liang generals who overthrew the rebel regime of Hou Ching. In the end, when his ambitions clashed with those of his rival, the future founder of the Ch'en, he was defeated and killed in 555.

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Pien made overtures to [Northern] Ch'i, and gave his support to the Marquis of Cheng-yang, Hsiao Yüan-ming, as Emperor.[4] At that period the region left of the river had not yet settled down, and matters of life and death were settled by force. Pien sent his son-in-law, Tu K'an, to act as Warden of the Palace.[5] K'an was by nature fierce and thick-headed, and could not imagine the consequences [that his acts would entail]. He wanted to demolish the two images to make ingots, so he began by ordering several dozen men to mount to the Pavilion of the Three Blessings, San-hsiu-ko, and chisel off the Buddhas' *uṣṇīṣas*. The hammering and cutting had just begun when the two statues together turned their heads to watch. The men's arms fell as if they were dropping off, and could not be raised again; and they were struck as dumb as if they were dead drunk. This happened also to Tu K'an. After a long while they recovered consciousness; and then they were belabored until their whole bodies broke out into blue blisters. All they could see were Vajra-bearing guardians [and?] fearsome creatures rushing to beat them. They screamed with pain; their bodies were roasted and cooked everywhere; pus and blood ran down together over their broken skin and bared bones, until they died. This was a recent occurrence, well known to clerics and laity alike.

"When Wu Ti of the Ch'en died [in 559], his nephew [Ch'en] Ch'ien who succeeded him wanted to arrange for the burial and to have an imperial hearse made. Now the dynasty had only recently been established and there was no spare time to make arrangements. Of old Liang Wu Ti had erected the Hall of Piled-up Clouds, containing scriptures and images all adorned with precious jewels enough to dazzle and captivate all lands. It so happened that both hall and images were still extant under the Ch'en. Ch'ien decided to take the jewelled pendants from the canopy over the Piled-up Clouds Buddhas, to embellish the funeral procession. When enough men had been collected they began to advance together from all sides. All at once they saw a cloud-nucleus coagulate and flow around the Buddha hall; while elsewhere the sunlight was pouring down without a shadow. Everyone was amazed, and hastened to come and watch. All of a sudden a great rainstorm broke, drenching everything while thunder and lightning struck. The obscurity expanded upward to the hall acroteria; a fire burned in the cloud, with flashes and flames that flowed up and down and across each other. In a trice the luminous image of the hall became visible, with its two towering statues, its Divine Monarchs of the Four Classes, and even the jewelled thrones, rising all together into the air, and with smoke and fire all about them instantly passing into the far distance. The whole city had poured out to witness this, and all who saw returned forthwith to faith. After the storm had passed and the old site was inspected, they found nothing left but pillar bases. After a month or more a traveller from the seacoast turned up, who said that on the day in question he had seen the luminous image of the hall with its statues flying through the air over the sea. At the present time people looking out to see sometimes see them still."

[4] Biographies in *Nan Shih*, li, pp. 5vff., and in *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xxxiii, p. 1r,v; Giles' no. 723. A nephew of Liang Wu Ti, whose uneventful life as a provincial governor came to a melodramatic climax when the renegade Hou Ching persuaded the Emperor to undertake a campaign against the Eastern Wei in 547. Put in command of a Liang division, the Prince was captured in the ignominious defeat that followed. The Northern court used him, thereafter, as a pawn: first exploiting his influence with Wu Ti to halt the inconvenient war; and then (after Hou Ching's *coup d'état* and other, succeeding disasters had brought the South to a state of anarchy) sending him back to Nanking with an escort to be installed as a puppet ruler, in 555. This last move was accepted, perforce, by Wang Seng-pien, the Nanking governor. When the Ch'en founder in turn took Nanking and slew Wang, the same year, the Prince was demoted and died soon after.

[5] Biographies in *Liang Shu*, xlvi, p. 3r, and in *Nan Shih*, lxiv, pp. 3v–4r. As a Wang partisan frequently clashed with Ch'en forces. A great wine-lover, always drunk by nightfall; in that condition was caught by Ch'en soldiers, who killed him.

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3. My entry no. 32 under the Sung, taken from the life of the monk Fa-yüeh in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, runs: "Ming Ti of the Sung tried in four successive castings to make an eighteen-foot gilded image; and failing, had the height altered to fourteen feet." The rest of the story follows:[6]

"Yüeh therefore associated himself with a *śramaṇa* of Pai-ma-ssu named Chih-ching, and the two joined their *karmas* in the desire to restore it to an eighteen-foot image of Amitāyus. They announced their decision and began to collect gold and bronze. The Ch'i regime was then approaching its last days and morale was low, so once again the enterprise had to be postponed. At the outset of the Liang the project was made the subject of an official report and an order was issued permitting it [to continue]. Aid was also given in fashioning the nimbus and pedestal; materials and technical skill were supplied as needed; and at last it was cast on the third day of the fifth month of [509], at Hsiao Chuang-yen-ssu.[7]

"The craftsmen's original estimate was that the Buddha's body would require 40,000 catties of bronze; but when the smelting and pouring were done [the metal] failed to reach as high as the chest. The common people sent in an incalculable amount of bronze, which was thrown into the melting-pot, to be melted down and cast. Still the inside of the mould was not filled, and the situation proved unchanged. Thereupon a report was hastened to the Throne, and an imperial order was issued to furnish 3,000 catties of votive bronze. They were just beginning to weigh it out and despatch it from the capital when ox-carts came into sight at the foundry, carrying out the imperial order and bringing bronze to add to the smelter. Thereupon the bellows flew, [the metal] was melted down, and in a single casting all was filled. Almost at once the men and carts all disappeared. It was truly a miracle that at the very moment when bronze was being issued at the capital, as people came to realize, more arrived from some other source.

"The artists jumped with joy, while clerics and laity chanted praises. When the mould was opened it was found that the amount [of bronze] reached a height of more than nineteen feet, and yet there was no error in the radiant body-signs. Two large coins, which had never melted, were still visible on the hem of the robe, to everyone's surprise. Considering that the first estimate of 40,000 catties of bronze turned out to leave so much to be done, one would have thought that when 3000 more were added the lack would not yet have been filled. But such prodigies of good fortune come mysteriously from the heart's desires; and one can see that [all this was due to] the mystic universality of the divine Principle, and was hardly a human affair at all.

"When the clay model for the image was first finished, the monk Tao-chao used to adore it and do penitence every night. All at once he saw a dazzling clearness in the workshop, and after observing it carefully for a long time realized that it was a miracle of divine light. Three days after the casting was done, before the mould was opened, a certain Dhyāna Master Tao-tu, a noble and pure-minded priest, who had given up his robe of seven squares to aid in meeting the expense, was watching from a distance while the head was opened, and suddenly saw two monks who were kneeling and opening the statue's hair. When he went closer to look at them, they all at once disappeared.

"At that period both [the initiators of the project], Yüeh and Ching, had passed on; so by imperial order the supervision of the sculptural work was handed over to Seng-yu of Ting-lin-ssu.

"That same year on the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month the image was moved to Kuang-

[6] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 412c.

[7] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, v, pp. 5v–6r, assembles information. Its site had held a Chin Prince's ancestral shrine, and in 507 was bought to turn into a temple.

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chai-ssu.[8] All that month there had been no rain and it was very dusty; but the night before the transfer it clouded over and a thin rain fell that wet things down. Seng-yu was passing by the statue's [shelter], thinking about the weather, when he saw from a distance that flames were moving up and down on its sides, like lamps or candles; also he heard a voice raised in penitence and worship. Opening the door he looked around carefully, but everything was closed and still. The temple warden witnessed these same things. On that same night some merchants travelling on the Huai [River] all heard what sounded like the voices of several hundred men working hurriedly under the great boat [bridge] to get it in order [for the image's passing?].[9] Then they realized that this must be the concern of some supernatural agency, rather than the work of men.

"Later the nimbus and pedestal were also cast, and there occurred the further good omen of a scented breeze. Southward of the Pamirs and the Yangtse this was supreme among all gilded images."

A slightly different version of the story appears in Tao-hsüan's corpus, where the statue is the twenty-ninth entry.[10] "At the outset of the T'ien-chien era [502–519] the Liang founder established Kuang-chai-ssu at what had previously been his mansion. He had an eighteen-foot gilded image fashioned [for it]. When the model was completed it was not even a fraction of an inch in error; but just before the casting they suspected that the bronze was insufficient. At first they wanted to ask aid from the All-highest; then all at once they saw an emissary coming with fifteen cart-loads of bronze, saying that they had been despatched by imperial decree to the temple. When this was melted down a single casting was sufficient. [The result] was unequalled in the whole realm, except that they felt that the height was too great. When they measured, it turned out to be twenty-two feet. A report was sent in to the Throne, saying that the casting had been completed without altering the original design, and describing fully how the bronze that had been donated later had been used; and also telling that on a second examination the height proved to be four feet greater. The imperial answer was:

'Since We sent no bronze at the time, it is not clear how all this could have happened unless one interprets it as the Absolute responding to our needs, an unmistakable sign of a divine miracle. Let a blossoming pedestal be carved and inscribed with this wonderful record.'

"The whole matter was explained by engraving under the feet. [The statue] is still in existence."

"Seng-yu of Ting-lin-ssu" to whom the direction of the casting was entrusted after it had become a state responsibility, must have been one of the most energetic and talented clerics of the age. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, xi, shows that he was first of all a specialist in monastic discipline; in that capacity he was often invited to lecture by the devout Prince Wen-hsüan of the Ch'i, before audiences of seven or eight hundred.[11] He was the author or compiler of several important books, including two that I have frequently cited, the anthology *Hung Ming Chi* and the bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*. His reputation reached a climax under the first Liang Emperor, who followed his advice on all major problems involving the clergy. A practical bent made him active in the restoration of run-down temples, and in another direction led him to invent a more efficient type of book-case for clerical libraries. Furthermore, "he was naturally inventive, and was able to estimate by eye what he

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 61ff.; *Chien-k'ang SL*, xvii, p. 9b, entry for 507, when the quondam mansion of the Liang founder was remodelled to make a temple.

[9] This must have been the "cavalry boat bridge" mentioned in one of the *Nan Ch'ao SK* entries, as furnishing the only means of access to the temple from the capital.

[10] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 419c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 389a, b).

[11] *Ibid.*, L, p. 402c.

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had planned. Since your common artisan is dependent on rules and dimensions if he is not to err, [when the time came to fashion] the colossi of Kuang-chai-[ssu] and She Shan, and the stone Buddha of Yen-hsien, Yu was invited to make the plans and to provide drawn cartoons for them to follow."

For "the stone Buddha of Yen-hsien," see the entry immediately following. For the colossus of She Shen, see Southern Ch'i entry no. 13.

4. My entry no. 14 under the Southern Ch'i told how monk Seng-hu found at Yin-yo-ssu on "Mount Stone-city" in Chekiang a cliff with markings that suggested a Buddha's aureole; how he took a vow to carve a hundred-foot stone Buddha there, collected contributors in the 490's, and began the work of rock-cutting; and finally how his death, and a successor's lack of resources, kept the project from completion. The account in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, continues:[12]

"We come now to the year [507] under the Liang, when a certain Lu Hsien of Wu-chün, who had been magistrate of Shih-feng [in Chekiang], had been relieved of his duties and was on his way home. He was spending a night on the Yen River that happened to be windy, rainy, and very dark. Hsien was dozing, ill-at-ease, when all of a sudden he dreamed that he saw three clerics come up and say to him:

'Good sir, you are a true believer and upright, and naturally of a retiring nature. Know that His Highness of Chien-an is suffering, and has not yet been healed. If he can see that the stone Buddha that Seng-hu made in Yen-hsien is completed, he will certainly regain his health. The uttermost Principle is not unreal, and must be allowed to develop.'

"Hsien returned home, and for a year more or less forgot what he had dreamed. Then as he was going out his gate he saw a priest who said: 'A guest who listens to a sermon should follow what was said. The matter of the Prince of Chien-an that was enjoined on you last year – do you still remember it, or not?'

"Hsien nervously answered that he had forgotten. The churchman smiled and said: 'Then you must think of it again.' At that he went away. Hsien realized that he was no common person, and so pursued him for a hundred paces or so, in a desperate hurry to find out; when all at once he disappeared. Then Hsien's mind cleared, and he understood; and remembering all that he had dreamed before, he realized that this must have been the third of the clerics he had seen on the Yen River.

"He hastened in consequence to inform the Prince, who in turn told the All-highest. An imperial order despatched the Vinaya Master Seng-yu to take charge of the image project. The Prince's profound faith increased and his joy knew no bounds. He stripped himself of all his gold ware, vowing to use it to complete the work.

"On the day before Seng-yu arrived a priest of the temple, one Hui-ch'eng, dreamed that he saw a great deity dressed all in black, standing with outspread wings very impressively in the place where the niche was to be, and deliberating over the dimensions. On the morrow the Vinaya Master Yu arrived; such was the divine response to him. The first excavation that had been made by Seng-hu turned out to be too shallow, so it was deepened by fifty feet. An *uṣṇīṣa* was provided; the body's *lakṣaṇa* were brought to perfection; and the burnishing was just short of complete. That night all at once a red color formed right where the swastika was, on the image's chest; and even now that area has not yet been gilded, and the red color still shows.

"Work on the image was undertaken in the spring of [513] and was completed in the spring of [516]. The seated body was fifty feet high and the standing forms were a hundred. In front of the niche was erected a three-storey terrace, and gates, pavilions, and halls were built. In addition great number of other constructions were set up

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 412a, b.

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to serve the needs of worship. Gentry and commoners came from all sides, bearing incense and flowers over a myriad *li* to make their offerings and go home again, until wheel tracks and footprints were filled in and obliterated.

"After the image had been completed, the sufferings of the Prince of Chien-an were gradually eased, and now he is entirely cured. His lief has been changed, so that he is now Prince of Nan-p'ing."

"The stone colossus of Yen-hsien" is discussed in Tao-hsüan's twenty-ninth entry, after the Kuang-chai-ssu bronze.[13] Details are different: there is no travelling magistrate, but the Prince himself has a dream and so invites Seng-yu to complete the work. The latter dislikes the existing proportions, which seem to him too shallow. "That night a sudden landslide (in copying this version *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xiv, adds 'that buried two hundred men") revealed the Buddha within, still inside the rock from the neck down . . . In this case the true lineaments were originally within the stone, and were revealed after human skill had stripped it away."

The "Prince of Chien-an" was Hsiao Wei (474–531), a younger brother of the Liang founder. Of his two official biographies[14] that in the Liang history merely records that he fell seriously ill in 508. In the *Nan Shih* there is an extraordinary addition. Wei of course abetted his brother's uprising, and as a first reward was named Governor of Yung-chou (in Hupeh) by the puppet Southern Ch'i Emperor Ho. We now learn that "when Wu Ti's armies were moving downstream, since his funds were running low, Wei took the bronze Buddha from the temple at Hsiang-yang to make currency, and despoiled the rich priests of their treasure; after which he fell ill."

If the *Nan Shih* accusation is true, one can see the outlines of a painful problem for Buddhist historians. There is a very good chance that "the bronze Buddha from Hsiang-yang" was no less revered a statue than the colossal Amitāyus made by order of the great Tao-an (my entry no. 11 under the Chin); the very work whose destruction two generations later during the Northern Chou persecution was told with such gusto by Tao-hsüan. The non-Buddhist version would have us believe that the statue was melted down merely as an emergency wartime measure, of a sort that must have been fairly common; we have met a similar incident dating from the same civil war, in General Hsiao's seizure of the buried golden dragon of Ch'ang-sha-ssu (Chin entry 16). The vandal was not a fanatical iconoclast but an otherwise devout believer, remembered for his skill in philosophical profundities and as the author of two pious works. Worse still, he was a younger brother of the saintly ruler under whom the Church reached its peak of power and influence. If my suggestion is valid, it is not hard to see why the author of the *Kao Seng Chuan*, writing while the Prince was still alive and his father was supporting Buddhism with an increasingly reckless generosity, should have veiled the outrage. In his generation, while the fact was still remembered, it was doubtless sufficient to remind the reader that the Prince had once fallen mysteriously ill, and that recovery had followed his making a colossal Buddha image under supernatural orders; the signs of an eye-for-an-eye expiation were clear enough. The moral tale that might have been told would have been too shocking in plain words under the Liang dynasty.

For posterity it would have been too confusing; storytellers like Tao-hsüan, with a point to make, like to have their values clearly separated into blacks and whites. It may well have seemed to the pious T'ang historian both simpler and more believable to assign the outrage to a period when outrages were common, under the Northern Chou persecution. There is at the same time

[13] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 419c; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 389a, b).

[14] *Liang Shu*, xxii, pp. 4r–5v; *Nan Shih*, lii, pp. 2v–3r.

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one more piece of evidence in the case, which seems to warrant reducing the charge against Tao-hsüan from well-intentioned lying to ignorance. The encyclopedia *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* has preserved in its section on Buddhist images an effusion in typical Six Dynasties phraseology by the well-known Liang author Liu Ch'ien (484 to 550), which in its time was so much admired that his biography speaks of the "great amplitude and beauty of its style."[15] Its title is: "Stele of the Image of the Buddha Amitāyus at the Golden Image Temple in Yung-chou." The most informative portion runs something as follows:

"This 'Mi-to's' influence is a rare aid, like the sun-disk in its brilliant illumination, like the moon's face in its frank openness. The *ūrṇā* sheds a pearly glimmer; the lips open on strange hues. Seemingly they hold a faint smile, [while the image] pours all its gaze down upon [those who] look upward. Almost it seems to utter comforting words, and bends all its power of hearing to listen attentively. This image repeatedly has gone out by night to walk through the temple gateway; now lighting up the cliffs as if it were facing some ceremony on the Vulture Peak; now moving to and fro, as if it were seeking out the sick in Vaiśālī."

The last clause must be a reference to a *sūtra* story about Amitāyus' coming down to rid the city of Vaiśālī of a plague, to which I shall return in the chapter on the iconography of His triad. The main point to be stressed is that the panegyric, while clearly referring to the same miraculously perambulations, and using the same temple name, Chin-hsiang-ssu, the Golden Image Temple, that we have met in Tao-hsüan's account (Chin entry 11), makes no reference to the statue's antiquity, or to the great Tao-an as its maker (at least none that I can identify as such, in its tangle of allusions). It is very tempting to assume, then, that the subject of the piece was a Liang image, cast and installed to replace the original commandeered by the Prince of Chien-an; and that it was this "modern" work that was in turn demolished under the Northern Chou.

5. Tao-hsüan's twenty-eighth entry runs:[16] "The founder of the Liang, Wu Ti, dreamed in [502] on the eighth day of the first month, that the sandalwood image had come to his kingdom, and so ordered a party formed to go and bring it back. The [old] story told in the 'Record of the Buddha's Journeys in India' and in the two chapters of the 'King Udyāna *Sūtra*' is that the Buddha ascended to the Tuśita Heaven for a whole summer to preach the Law to His mother.[17] Kings and subjects missed him [so sorely that finally] the monarch of Udyāna despatched thirty-two craftsmen with the sandalwood to [the disciple] Mahā Maudgalyāyana, begging him to use his magic powers to transport them [heavenward] with orders to depict the Buddha's form. When the portrait was finished as he desired with a height of five feet, it was brought back and installed at the Jetavana Vihāra, where it has been worshipped down to the present time. This was the image that the Emperor wished to ask for. In consequence he summoned a party of eighty men to make the journey, including the Victory-deciding General Ho Ch'ien, Hsieh Wen-hua, and others.

"These persons formally presented the request to the King of Śrāvastī. He replied that it was the foremost image in Central India, and so could not be sent to an outlying land. However, he ordered thirty-two craftsmen to carve [another] image in purple sandalwood, each man executing one distinctive body-sign. Work was begun in the early morning and was completed by noon. When the body-signs were complete, the image's *uṣṇīṣa* emitted a radiance; a fine rain fell, and a strange perfume was noted. It was of

[15] *TSCC*, 497, p. 15r. Biographies in *Liang Shu*, xli, p. 6r,v, and in *Nan Shih*, xxxix, p. 6v.

[16] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 419b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LII, p. 389a).

[17] See the section on the Sandalwood "First Image" in the Appendix, pp. 259ff.

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this that the '*Sūtra* of King Udyāna' says: 'When the True Body disappears, then two images will manifest themselves, to be a great blessing for all creatures.'[18]

"Ch'ien and the others carried the second image several myriads of *li*, experiencing so many trials that it would be impossible to tell of them all. They crossed the ocean, braving tempests and billows. The waves carried them to a mountain, where their food supply ran out, and many of the escort and bearers perished. They met all sorts of wild beasts, which they countered by calling with one accord on the Buddha; at which, from behind the image, they would hear a sound [like that made by] armor, or a bell. Beside one cliff they found a monk sitting upright under a tree. Ch'ien, who was carrying the statue on his back, set it down before him. The monk rose to adore the image, while Ch'ien and the rest made obeisance to him. He gave them clean water to drink and their fill to eat. Then he said:

'This image is called the Samyak-sambuddha. Throughout your journey Kumbhira Rāja has wrought great feats for the Buddhist faith.'[19]

"So saying he disappeared. One night soon afterward all dreamed that they had seen the god [Kumbhira]; and on the morrow they joined in making a picture of him.

"In [511] on the fifth day of the fourth month Ch'ien and the others reached the capital. The Emperor and his officials went out afoot forty *li* to welcome [the image], and brought it back to the Hall of State. A maigre feast was held, with conversions; a general amnesty was declared, and a proclamation was issued against killing. In addition a lotus-blossom pagoda crown [?] was made. The Emperor from that time on became a vegetarian and denied himself all sensual gratifications.

"When the imperial demise took place in the fifth month of [549], the Prince of Hsiang-tung was enthroned at Chiang-ling with the title Yüan [and the era name] Ch'eng-sheng. He despatched persons to the Yang-[tze] capital to bring [the image] upstream to his capital of Ching, to be adored in the Ch'eng-kuang Hall. Subsequently in [562] Ta-ming-ssu was erected alongside the Serene Mausoleum north of the city, and the image was taken there. It may be seen there today. Many copies of it have been made, and circulate in the [T'ang] capital."

The history of the statue is continued in the *Tao-hsüan Lü Shih Kan-t'ung Lu*, in the there standard form of a question-and-answer dialogue between the priest and a celestial visitor, as follows:[20]

"Query: the sandalwood image at the former Ta-ming-ssu in Ching-chou is said to have been made for King Udyāna, the story going that a copy came from him to the Liang. There is also one in [the present] capital. Which is the original?

"Answer: Ta-ming's is the original image. With the demise of the Liang founder the image came to the shore of Ching. Then in [554] under Yüan Ti the [Northern] Chou conquered the Liang, and as a result the state records and treasures were all collected and sent north. The sandalwood image was hidden by a certain Dharma Master Seng-chin in his cell; he made many presents to the emissaries from his own effects, so that in the end the statue was allowed to stay. In [589] under the Sui, Wen Ti despatched an emissary, Liu Ku-yen, to secure it. The temple priests

[18] I have not been able to locate this quotation, but in the original text it must have been intended as a reference to the two statues made by Kings Prasenajit and Udyāna.

[19] See the section on this guardian in the iconographic chapter on Minor Beings, pp. 231 ff.

[20] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 438b; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 396b, c). A mid ninth century account of the treasures and well known sites of the great Ch'ang-an temples has been preserved in a chapter of the miscellany *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu*, by Tuan Ch'eng-shih (and separately, with the title *Ssu T'a Chi* in *Daizōkyō*, LI, no. 2093). In connection with Ta Hsing-shan-ssu, we are told that its Udyāna image was destroyed in a temple fire at the outset of the 668–670 era. Like Tao-hsüan, the author denies that this image had been brought from Ching-chou (p. 1022c).

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also wanted it as a protection for Ching and Ch'u [the middle Yangtse region]; and since Ku was a native of the place, he gave in and directed that another sandalwood statue be carved, so as to comply with the imperial will. Search for a sculptor produced a Brāhman monk named Chen-ta, who made [the new] image; i.e. the one that is now at Hsing-shan-ssu [in Ch'ang-an]. It too is most wonderful and rare.

"The original image is at Ching-chou. The monks covered it over with lacquered cloth, which lessened [the accuracy] of its distinguishing marks. *Note: originally it showed the Buddha's body seven days after birth. With the addition of the lacquered cloth it was turned into an adult form, which made it much more unusual than it had been in the beginning.* The Ta-ming example came from the ancient dwelling-place of the Buddha; it is the supernatural image, [and is there still] because it would not suffer to be removed to the North.

"In recent years a certain Dharma Master Miao-i, having heard mysterious praises from an angel, finally was enlightened and stripped away the lacquered cloth, so that the true visage was revealed again. It was a grand stimulus to faith to come face to face with the supernatural form. [The statue] was made entirely of sandalwood (? or of joined sandalwood?)[21] and is in its original state, without additions. The halo and pedestal are most unusual. The carving, which was done with an elephant's tusk, is in the last analysis beyond the attainment of human art.

"The body of the Hsing-shan version is cleverly executed in every particular."

This story has all the earmarks of a bare-faced fabrication. Liang Wu Ti's dream and mission are clearly modelled on Han Ming Ti's. To the best of my knowledge nothing of the sort is recorded in contemporary sources; even the envoys named are unidentifiable. The Liang history, which notes many of Wu Ti's public demonstrations of piety, says nothing about his welcoming a party back from India with a sandalwood statue. More damning still, the final paragraph in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, xiii, written in the same decade in which the statue is said to have arrived, and entirely concerned with images, *stūpas*, and relics, is silent in this one regard; though it speaks of the first images made for Udyāna and Prasenajit, of the sculptural works of Aśoka's daughters, of the icon brought to China in Han Ming Ti's reign, and even of Liang Wu Ti's success in casting the bronze image at one try (my entry 3) where the Sung Emperor had failed in four.[22] The statue probably originated at Ta-ming-ssu, in the last days of the Liang or under the Ch'en restoration, and was given a fictitious history by the temple monks in order to enhance its sanctity.

6. Ōmura ascribes to the Liang two undated image inscriptions by Shen Yo (who died in 513), preserved with his other compositions in *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xvi: one for an Amitāyus, the other for a Śākyamuni.[23] The former opens with a conventional apology for image-making:

"The Dharmakāya has no image; it is eternal and formless. [But though] the ultimate Principle is nothingness, it yet responds. [Though] the true Wisdom be annihilated [in Nirvāṇa], it produces supernatural manifestations. Out of utter stillness comes the rumble of thunder; in the dead of night the darkness is split open. For the humblest there is eternal life, without years, without aging. [All] beings love carving and embellishment; men glory in precious decorations..."

7. The history of the Southern dynasties, *Nan Shih*, lxxvi, contains a summary of the career of the famous metropolitan abbot Pao-chih (418 to

[21] Text variations betwen the *Tao-hsüan* and *Fa Yüan CL* versions permit these alternatives.

[22] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 413a.

[23] *Ibid.*, LII, pp. 211c, 212a, b. For the text translated, see Quotations, I.

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514).[24] "As he lay dying all at once the temple's Vajra-bearing images transferred themselves to posts outside his door; which made people say that the Bodhisattva must be ready to depart. In ten days' time without being ill he expired."

Presumably the statues here referred to had their proper posts on either side of the temple gate, as was to be the standard practise later (a guardian pair of the early eighth century is still extant in Japan at Hōryūji). It should be noticed, however, that this anecdote does not appear in the priest's life contained in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, x, completed five years after his death (although everything else after the words "people say" is the same).[25] There we read in addition that for a lay follower "Chih once exhibited himself in his true form, with radiant body-signs like a Bodhisattva image" (later versions were to say that he showed himself in the guise of the Twelve-headed Avalokiteśvara).[26] After his death a monastery was established beside his tomb on Mount Chung, outside the capital; and "portraits of him were preserved in various places."

8. The *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*'s biography of the nun Seng-shu (432–515) tells that she was a specialist in meditation, who had a convent built for her and twenty followers by a Sung imperial consort.[27] She was held in high esteem by the devout Ch'i Princes; and when the great days for Buddhism began under the Liang, "she begged the funds to have five gilded images made, all splendidly beautiful."

The number five is the interesting item here, and will be returned to in the iconographic chapter on the Buddhas.

9. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies," xxv, makes an entertaining story out of the career of a monk known as Tao-hsien or Seng-hsien, who is said to have been of Sogdian origin, and to have begun as a roving trader.[28] He travelled widely through the South by sea and upstream collecting pearls and other jewels, until his properties filled two ships. Then he met a Dhyāna Master who preached to him on the folly of attachment to temporal riches; whereupon he scuttled both of his vessels in the river (in spite of the monks' protests), left his wife and children, and entered a monastery to study the art of meditation. In 517 he went to the Blue Ravine Mountain, Ch'ing-ch'i Shan, in Hupeh to become a hermit. Taoists whom he was sheltering there one night saw what they thought was a forest fire breaking out. Fearing lest the hermit be harmed they ran to the rescue with water-vessels, only to find him seated impassively with a great fire raging all around. Great were the conversions, far and near. [This part of the story has obviously been borrowed from an incident in the life of Śākyamuni: his sojourn with the Brahmans who kept in their hut a venomous, fire-spitting Nāga].[29]

"The Governor, Prince Hui of P'o-yang, in person made obeisance to him and received the Dharma.[30] At the end of the T'ien-chien era (502–519) Prince Ming-kan of Shih-hsing made images of the Four Lokapālas at Liang-t'ai-ssu.[31] On each of the six monthly fast days he would always make a pure offering in the early morning. Hsien later came to a meeting in which the Lokapālas bowed their heads and emitted five-colored rays of light; while the in-

[24] P. 6v. For other stories about him, see Werner, *Mythology*, pp. 70–73, under his alternative name Chih Kung.

[25] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 394a–395b.

[26] See Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu, an Imperial Temple of Northern Sung," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 68, 1, 1948, pp. 34, 41.

[27] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 947b.

[28] In xxv; *ibid.*, p. 651a, b.

[29] Told, for example, by me in "Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Art," *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, 1–2, 1950, pp. 71–75.

[30] Another younger brother of Wu Ti; biographies in *Liang Shu*, xxii, pp. 5r–6r, and in *Nan Shih*, lii, pp. 4v–5v. Lived 476–526.

[31] A still younger brother, Hsiao Tan (478–522); see *Liang Shu*, xxii, pp. 7r–8r, and *Nan Shih*, lii, pp. 6v–7v.

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cense-burner that he was holding emitted smoke of itself."[32]

The account goes on to tell of further marvels, until people came to worship the monk like a god from Heaven. When a Sui Prince whose orders he had treated lightly sent soldiers to arrest him, their way was blocked by a great storm and landslides. When he returned home from Szechwan in the 580's, the road ahead of him was swept clear by a mountain god. He died over a hundred years old.

Is is a pity that our first clear reference to an important new kind of image, the group of guardians of the four quarters, should appear in such questionable company. I know no reason, however, why the Four Lokapālas should not have been represented under the Liang. Various scriptures had made their names and attributes familiar for generations, and we know that they were worshipped. Liang Wu Ti issued a famous edict in 513 forbidding animal sacrifice in various shrines and official rites; one of its clauses exempted for the time being "those monasteries and nunneries where services to the Four Lokapālas and the god Kapila are held by setting out deer's heads and beef."[33]

10. An entry in the bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, xii, speaks of "a Record of the Pure Gold Image Presented by the Realm of P'o-li."[34] The Liang history notes that the first embassy from P'o-li (perhaps Bali?) arrived in 517, to be followed by a second in 522.[35] (The place is described as "on an island in the sea southeast of Canton, and two months' journey from that port . . . Its monarchs bear the name Kauṇḍiṇya" — as in Fu-nan. "They also tell that King Suddodhana's consort" — i.e. Queen Māyā, the mother of the Buddha — "was a maiden of their land.") The account of the mission of 517 is remembered chiefly for a letter praising the Liang Emperor for his devotion to Buddhism and the beauty and perfection of his land: a document so fulsome in its flattery, and so much like several other letters purporting to come from Indian or Indonesian monarchs that one finds quoted in the Southern histories, that the wary reader may be justified in suspecting that the Chinese court maintained a special secretariat to fabricate such items of diplomatic correspondence.

11. The Liang history records that in 519 King Rudravarman of Fu-nan "sent another envoy, with a gift of an auspicious Indian sandalwood image."[36] Was this perhaps the historic fact that later was to be elaborated into the fable of Wu Ti's mission to Śrāvastī?

12. The Liang history records that in 529 the realm of P'an-p'an "sent an envoy with a gift of an ivory image and a *stūpa* . . . A further embassy arrived in [534], bringing an authentic relic from the Bodhi land, a picture of a *stūpa*, a leaf from the Bodhi tree," etc.[37]

P'an-p'an — about whose whereabouts the Chinese record says nothing — has been tentatively identified with the east side of the Malay peninsula. The "picture of a *stūpa*" may have represented the famous structure at Bodhgayā, since two of the other items brought came from there.

13. In 530, according to the Liang history, "the King of the realm of Tan-tan sent an envoy with

[32] See the section on the Four Lokapālas in the iconographic chapter on Minor Beings, pp. 231ff.

[33] Quoted in *Kuang Hung MC*, xxvi (*Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 298a).

[34] *Ibid.*, VL, p. 92c.

[35] *Liang Shu*, liv, pp. 6v–7r. No mention is made of such a gift in the accounts given of the two embassies. See also Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," *B. de l'école franç. d'extrême O.*, III, 1903, pp. 279ff.

[36] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 4r; also in *Nan Shih*, lxxviii, p. 4r.

[37] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 5v; also in *Nan Shuh*, lxxviii, p. 6r. See also G. Ferrand, "Le K'ouen-louen," *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., xiii, 1919, pp. 254ff.; and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–230.

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a gift of an ivory image and a painted *stūpa*."[38] This country, also unlocated and undescribed, doubtless also belonged to the Indonesian area, probably in the eastern reaches of the Java Sea.

14. Note the following Liang additions to existing statues:

In 532 two Bodhisattvas of gilded bronze were provided for the "gilded image of Ching-chou," then installed in the new imperial Tung-t'ai-ssu (Chin entry 16).

During Wu Ti's reign seven angel musicians and two Bodhisattvas were added to the aureole of "the gilded image at Ch'ang-kan-ssu" (Chin entry 3). This modernization may well have been ordered in 537 when one of the two Ch'ang-kan-ssu pagodas was restored by imperial order, at which time its relic coffer was inspected by Wu Ti in person, and an "unstinted maigre feast" was held there.[39]

15. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies," v, contains a lengthy account of the career of the monk Seng-min (474–534), a descendant of the Sun house that once had ruled over the Wu kingdom, who became celebrated in the Southern capital for his prowess in lecturing and scriptural exegesis.[40] He once "made an image of Maitreya as Buddha, with the accompanying ritual paraphernalia, and used to worship it day and night. Then he dreamed that he saw the Buddha Maitreya despatching a supernaturally-created Bodhisattva to bring him the Bodhi-tree as a gift." He is cited as a restorer and enlarger of monastery buildings – one project being at his temple Chuang-yen-ssu, where "the gate-house with its adjacent enclosing walls and roofs were old-fashioned and clumsy in workmanship" (the temple was a Sung foundation) – and we learn the curious further detail that "the *sūtras* and images made by Min were none of them closed away, but were provided whenever they were required."[41]

16. The life of the monk Pao-ch'ang in the same work, i, incorporates an account of the most ambitious temple-building projects undertaken by Wu Ti.[42] In the Bamboo Ravine on Mount Chung he set up a monastery entitled Ta-ai-ching-ssu, the "Great Temple of Loving Respect," on behalf of his deceased father. The site was a naturally charming one and by architecture and decoration was turned into something very like one of the palaces of Heaven. The scale was great; a distance of seven *li* separated the central nucleus from the outer gate; there were thirty-six separate precincts, each having pools and terraces to surround its buildings. "The main hall of the central precinct contained a sandalwood image [that was meant to be] eighteen feet tall, by the sculptors' estimate. But they worked only by day; every night after they had halted voices would be heard, and on the morrow when they looked they would have a feeling that more had been done; and so on completion the height turned out to be twenty-two feet. The major and minor distinguishing signs were majestically rendered; all that was visible was preeminent. It almost was a work of the gods, and frequently was moved to give proof of the fact. In addition the Emperor for a separate hall of the temple, by the Dragon Pool, had an eighteen-foot gilded bronze image fashioned. He worshipped there in person; whenever he entered and prostrated himself in adoration he would sob and sigh and choke with emotion, unable to master himself, until his

[38] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 5v; also in *Nan Shih*, lxxviii, p. 6r. Neither of these paragraphs gives any description of the country; both devote themselves to a fulsomely flattering letter addressed to the Liang sovereign. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 335 n. 1, mentions (in order to reject them) the theories of predecessors who had linked Tan-tan with the Malay Peninsula or the Natuna Islands.

[39] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 4r; also in *Nan Shih*, lxxviii, p. 4r. A literary account of this occasion, ascribed to Wu Ti himself, has been preserved in *Kuang Hung MC*, xv (*Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 203c–204a).

[40] In x; *ibid.*, L, pp. 461c–463c, especially 463a.

[41] Compare Liang entry 21, p. 77 below.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 422a.

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attendants too could not but weep. Also for the sake of the Empress Dowager Hsien he built Ta-chih-tu-ssu on the west slope of the Blue Ravine, east of the road leading from the Chien-yang city gate . . . The buildings were monumental; there was a seven-storeyed treasure pagoda; cells and galleries ran around, and here and there flowering trees sprang up. For the main hall he had another gilded, eighteen-foot image made, to show that he remembered the felicity [his mother had brought him]. Five hundred nuns were continually hearing lectures or chanting. On the day the temples were finished the Emperor said to his consorts:

'We have erected these two temples because of the blessings received from our two imperial [parents], to make evident the boundlessness of our emotion, and to realize our thoughts that linger far in the past . . .'

The account goes on to describe the splendid ancestral shrines that Wu Ti established inside his palace, and the imperial thrones provided for his parents, with their splendid ritual crowns and robes. Finally we read that in 527 "he set up Tung-t'ai-ssu north of the imperial city, cutting through the Ta-t'ung gate [to be able to reach it directly from the palace]. Its towers, pavilions, terraces and halls were modelled on those of the imperial palace itself. There was a nine-storeyed pagoda that extended its [roof] circuits to beyond the clouds. Hills, trees, gardens, and pools were multiplied in a confusing luxuriance."

Dates given elsewhere indicate that Wu Ti's temple to his father was under construction from 520 to 522, and that the sandalwood statue was done in 530.[43] Tung-t'ai-ssu, the place most often named in connection with the ruler's public demonstrations of piety in the 530's and 540's, we have met earlier in connection with "the gilded image of Ching-chou," which was housed there (see my entry no. 16 under the Chin).[44] *Nan Shih* records that in 535 "on the twenty-third day of the fourth month, Wu Ti paid an imperial visit to Tung-t'ai-ssu and had silver images cast of the Buddhas of the Ten Directions."[45]

17. An edict of Wu Ti's dated 538, preserved in *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xv, tells that "an inhabitant of Shang-yü-hsien (in Chekiang), one Li Yin-chih, has dug up out of the ground an ivory 'image' a little under 0.2 feet square, the two sides of which in combination make a beast shape. Within this on one side are twelve Buddha figures, and on the other fifteen. The engraving is clear and clean; the workmanship is most wonderfully skilful, so that one would take it for a supernatural product rather than the result of human craft. Inside it are six relics in true form . . ."[46]

18. The Liang history tells that in 541 "the realm of Khotan sent a present of a Buddha image carved in jade."[47]

19. The sixth century gazetteer *Shui Ching Chu*, xxxii, in its section on the region around the juncture of the Huai and Fei rivers in Anhui, mentions a temple called "Hsi-ch'ang-ssu, whose Buddha hall has three images set there by Wu Ti of the Hsiao line, with true visages and perfect body signs, in look and dress pure and radiant."[48]

20. The anthology *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xv, contains an elaborate composition by "the Liang Prince Kang of Chin-an" (i.e. the future Chien Wen Ti), relative to the erection of an artificial Bodhi-tree.[49] The preamble refers to two cele-

[43] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, v, pp. 20ff.; *Chien-k'ang SL*, xvii, p. 12r, v. There it is stated that the sandalwood image kept on growing until 538, when it was measured for the fourth time, and found to total 20.5 Liang feet.

[44] *Nan Ch'ao SK*, v, 26vff.; *Chien-k'ang SL*, xvii, p. 14r.

[45] *Nan Shih*, vii, p. 4r.

[46] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 203c–204a.

[47] *Liang Shu*, liv, p. 14v; also in *Nan Shih* lxxxix, p. 7v. Note that jade was one of the most prized products of the Khotan region.

[48] By Li Tao-yüan. In the modern *Kuo-chi Chien-pien* edition, Shanghai, XLVII, v, p. 102.

[49] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 204a–c.

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brated Indian pilgrimage sites and aspects of the Buddha, the Nāga Cave and the Vulture Peak. There is a long eulogy of the virtues of the author's father, Wu Ti, and a series of allusions to the felicity brought by his rule. In what follows it is not always easy to disentangle literary flights from description. On the other hand both of these had their origin in the same sort of visual imagination; and what actually have been meant as no more than a graceful poetic image might, by a change of the author's will, have been imitated in art.

"Wherefore do angels and dancing phoenixes leave their bright [home] to circle about, crying, 'Good!' Bodhisattvas and flying elephants cross over their fragrant land and come hither to pay homage. Five hundred jewelled canopies vie in blending their rays; ten thousand garlands hang suspended in the air. The shrine chamber's magnificence is unique in the realm and world. He has fashioned a hall for the three periods [of the Buddha's teaching?]; he has raised a four-column terrace. Not even the 'Looking-for-the-gods Palace' of the Han rulers, or the 'Waiting-for-the-Immortals Belvedere' [of the Yellow Emperor] could have matched the embodying of Enlightenment in this jewelled cloud.

"Then, thinking on the beginning of all our salvation, he has erected a tree of Bodhi. The four seas have given up their rarities [to it], and the hundred crafts have spent their cunning. With chased gold, carved jade, mirrors strung together, and festoons of pearls it is fashioned in the likeness of the Snow Mountains,[50] and its shape is that of a flying canopy. The four sides cast their shadows, while the five faces shelter all beneath. Its renown is like the full moon; through it the imperial graciousness gives an even broader shelter. The thousand lights of the tree bloom all together; its multi-colored flowers link their brilliance. Suspended sun-disks lend gayety, and jade garlands create a haze; when a light breeze stirs, jewelled branches make music.

"Majestic is the wondrous form [of the Buddha?] shading those curving branches; as resplendent as a gold mountain, as venerable as linked moons. [One sees] the pious maiden at the time when [the Buddha began again] to eat; the figures of the gods offering their four bowls; the strewn propitious grass [that was used for the Buddha's seat], and the linked fluttering of blue-birds [overhead]; the quelling of the thunder-spitting Māra, and the rout of his mountain-bearing devils; strange shapes in ornamental materials beyond the power of words [to describe]. Here truly [has been revealed] a wondrous *karma* for the creation of good; here is the profound felicity of [spiritual] progress. Here in our time is a fullness of beauty unheard of in former ages . . ."

Most of the details of the Prince's description may be imagined from what we know of existing art of the late Six Dynasties. For the scenes illustrating Śākyamuni's Enlightenment a painted parallel has been preserved in the Japanese *Kako Genzai Inga Kyō*, an illustrated life of the Buddha that seems to derive from some mid sixth century prototype.[51] Canopies, curtains, festoons of beads, and angelic beings in flight are familiar accessories in the great Northern Wei cave-shrine complexes; a Bodhisattva on a flying elephant is silhouetted against the sky in a fresco of Cave 77 at Tun-huang.[52]

21. Miscellaneous short pieces by the same Liang Emperor Ch'ien Wen, preserved in *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, xvi, refer to:[53]

"A gilded bronze figure of the Buddha undergoing austerities, together with a Buddha's footprint and ritual paraphernalia," presented by imperial command by a courtier.

[50] I. e. the Himalāyas.

[51] Illustrated, e g., in *Nihonga Shūsei*, XVI, *Butsuga* I, Tōkyō, 1931, pls. 48–57.

[52] P. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen-houang*, Paris, 1914, pl. CLV.

[53] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 209a, 210a.

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"A vow to make a thousand Buddhas."

"An eighteen-foot, lacquer image covered with gold foil," vowed by a monk for the benefit of the four kinds of living creatures in the Six Paths of life. Here the text includes what seems to be a reference to the shadow image in the Nāga's cave, and two metaphors that we have met above used to describe the Buddha's splendor, the "golden mountain" and "linked moons."

In addition the Ch'ing dynasty encyclopedia *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* quotes brief inscriptions provided by the Prince for images of: Śākyamuni; Amitābha; Vipaśyin; Śikhin; and Kāśyapa (the last three being the first, second, and sixth of the Buddhas of the Past).[54]

Kuang Hung Ming Chi, xvi, also quotes another characteristic example of the Prince's pedantic prose style, complaining about the treatment given images in the temples of his day.[55]

"The *saṃghārāmas* and *caityas* that have been established in this land are profusely ornamented and fully provided with ritual paraphernalia. When viewed from the outside they are always splendid and lavish; yet in respect to true meaning and content they retain a certain immaturity. Our meaning is this. In general one may say that the purpose back of moulding metal, carving jade, cutting out lacquer, and painting tiles is to proclaim reverently the Incarnate Person, and to fix attention profoundly on the Divine Enlightenment; to extol that first dawn when the Nāgas from their vials [poured pure water on the newborn babe], and to imitate that last devotion shown in the Heron Grove [when the Buddha passed into Nirvāṇa]. Therefore "to worship the gods as if they were present" is of all ways of worshipping them the most exalted;[56] [and the very fact that] the sages are far removed from us today is the most profound reason for cherishing them.[57]

"In our land the temples exhibit their images only briefly, on the day of the Nativity. When that is over, they are shut up in cabinets and boxes. [In the process] the clothing is likely to be stripped from their bodies, or the flame aureoles detached from their heads. Sometimes five or ten figures of saints are pushed into a single shrine; or Bodhisattvas and Buddhas are all stored in the same cabinet. Most certainly this is a case of the heart being at cross purposes with the fact; one in which appearances are right but intentions are wrong. The wish to glorify the higher [powers] is plentiful, but there are few [signs of] hearts that are advancing spiritually.

The red coffers inside the pagodas of olden times held only relics; and it was the head of the image [?][58] that [was covered by] a white hanging, not the whole body. As for the painted figures, they were used for a commemorative purpose. In addition, they taught the lesser officials and commoners to appreciate what worship is; as the map of molten metal had kept the ruler of Yüeh mindful [of his lost lands?].[59] One thinks of [the pair of swords], Lung- [ch'üan and T'ai]-a, which were able to jump out of their scabbards;[60] or of "the tiger and the rhinocerous" that were

[54] *TSCC*, 497, p. 14r, v; section on the supernatural, *Shen-i Tien*, xc, "Buddhist Images."

[55] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 210b. For the text translated here, see Quotations J.

[56] Quoted from the *Lun Yü*, iii, 12,1; p. 159 in Legge's translation for the *Chinese Classics* series.

[57] A paraphrase of the final paragraph in Mencius, p. 502 in Legge's translation.

[58] The text has *hsiang* for "elephant" instead of *hsiang* for "image"; producing the same uncertainty as that remarked on in Southern Ch'i note 3.

[59] I have not been able to trace this reference to its source, but it must recall the bitter seesaw campaigns ca. 500 B.C. between the Wu and Yüeh states. The Yüeh King, Kou-chien, badly beaten by Wu in 494, won a conclusive victory in 473, annexing the enemy state. See Wieger, *Textes*, I, pp. 147, 149–150; or A. Tschepe, *Histoire du royaume de Ou*, Shanghai, 1896 (*Variétés sinologiques*, x), pp. 81 ff.

[60] The biography of Chang Hua (232–300, Giles' no. 65) in *Chin Shu*, xxxvi, p. 9v, tells of a purple ether sighted in the sky between the Dipper and the Herd-boy constellations, that was finally interpreted as the emanation from a precious sword mounting skyward. After digging to a depth of forty feet, below a prison basement, the authorities found a stone coffer shining with light. Inside was a pair of swords, inscribed with the names Lung-ch'üan and T'ai-a. That night the ether was no longer visible.

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spoken of as "escaped from their cages."[61] How much more should [such freedom] be true of the Almighty, the Perfectly Merciful, the Peerless Sum of all goodness; of Him whose very name, when heard, can dispel care, and whose form, when seen, can set one on the path to salvation! Yet they would screen away His carven sandalwood, piling it together in some wooden container; they would close away the jade hairs, seal up the golden palms! How different is [this privation] from the time at Rājagṛha when for so long a period He ascended into the four [kinds of Heavens]! How unlike [the custom] at the Jetavana of closing the doors for the three months' [summer retreat]! The jewelled halls are empty; the finely-paved staircases are vacant. The drawn curtains are never opened, though there is no [Tung] Chung-shu teaching his perverse doctrines behind them. The red walls are shut in for long periods at a time, just as if [they shielded] the refugee Pin-ch'ing from his enemies.[62]

"Having these spacious halls, like overhanging clouds and these lofty ridges whereon the birds stand: if they should [again] display the jade throne with its decorations of gold inlay, one can be sure that dirt would no longer cloud over the sun-like form, nor would tarnish blotch the moon-like countenance. Close-fitting glazed windows would make it impossible for the lightest breeze to enter; the finely woven, 'drag-on-beard' [matting] would keep out the swallows in their flight. An additional gain would be that the reasons for showing reverence would always be respected, and [the worshipper's] desire [for physical contact with the image] would grow all the stronger.

"The above is to be publicly decreed at once, and carried out for ever after."

Several points in the Prince's complaint are worthy of attention. His mention of "five or ten figures of saints . . . pushed together into a single shrine" must refer to groups of Śākyamuni's most prominent disciples. His reference to clothing stripped from the statues' bodies suggests either the danger of breakage to which wooden or lacquer sculpture was susceptible, or else a practise of dressing the figures like dolls (as had been done in Han entry 3). The exclusiveness that he deplores, the inaccessibility or invisibility of images that should be seen clearly, close at hand, by their worshippers, sounds like a description of the secrecy practised in Japanese temples of Tendai and Shingon, from the ninth century on. For a less clearly defined set of reasons — including perhaps sheer carelessness or indolence or snobbery — the great Liang establishments around Nanking seem to have reached a stage of privacy comparable to that preached deliberately by Tantric Buddhism, in T'ang times.

22. The encyclopedia *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* has preserved two literary effusions about Buddhist images composed by Yüan Ti, the unfortunate ruler whose attempt to reestablish dynastic stability after Hou Ching's coup d'etat, at the middle Yangtse city of Chiang-ling (552—554), was bloodily extinguished by a Wei raid out of the northwest.[63] One is an acknowledgment of Wu Ti's gift of "the Ch'i Prince's auspicious image," which I cannot identify any more precisely. The text, largely a eulogy of Wu Ti's piety and good works, begins with a typical preamble:

"Were there no darkness, there could be no light. Out of the frozen stillness of the Dharmakāya comes responsiveness, comes seeing . . ."

The other, equally general and inflated in its

[61] Quoted out of context from *Lun Yü*, xvi, 1,7; p. 307 in Legge's translation.

[62] The biography, in *Ch'ien Han Shu*, lvi, p. 1r, of the well-known Han philosopher Tung Chung-shu (Giles' no. 2092) says that he lectured from behind drawn curtains. The Liang Prince evidently belonged to the "New Text" school, for which Tung's leadership in "Old Text" teaching made him anathema. "Pin-ch'ing" was Chao Ch'i (Giles' no. 146), a notable of the second century A. D., whose career opened with an outspoken denunciation of a corrupt governor, and a subsequent flight into the safety of anonymity.

[63] *TSCC*, 497, p. 14v, in the *Shen-i Tien*, xc, "Buddhist Images."

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phraseology, deals with "the royal Aśokan image at Ch'ang-sha-ssu in Ching-chou" (i. e. the statue of Chin entry 16).

The following notices of Liang Buddhist paintings are drawn from the *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi:*

23. Emperor Yüan "once painted a saintly Buddhist monk, for which [his father Wu Ti] personally composed the eulogy." A painting by him of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was extant in the T'ang.[64]

24. Chang Seng-yu "often was commissioned by Wu Ti, who was a devoted embellisher of Buddhist temples, to do the paintings for them . . .[65] T'ien-huang-ssu in Chiang-ling, which had been founded by Ming Ti, had in it a cedarwood hall where Seng-yu painted an icon of Vairocana Buddha together with Confucius and the Ten Disciples. The Emperor, surprised, asked why he had depicted the Sage inside a Buddhist precinct. Seng-yu replied: 'The day will come when he will be of aid.' And indeed, in the extermination of Buddhism under the Northern Chou, when all [other] temples and pagodas of the realm were burned, this one hall was spared because of its figure of Confucius."[66]

Note the first appearance here of the Buddha who in the T'ang dynasty was to be accorded the supreme position in the Mahāyāna and Tantric pantheons. Another iconographic innovation is ascribed to Chang Seng-yu in an anecdote told in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xiv.[67] "The painting of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha at Fa-chü-ssu in the suburbs of I-chou [in Szechwan], shows Him seated with legs down on a wickerwork couch. The height is 0.8 or 0.9 feet. The original icon had been painted by Chang Seng-yu. In the seventh month of [665] a priest of that temple made a painted copy that from to time emitted a light like a ring of gold, exactly like the halo of the original. Copy after copy was produced thereafter, and all emitted light in the same way. In the eighth month of that year it was directed that one be forwarded to the palace for worship. At the present time the devotional paintings made by clerics and laity inside and outside the capital also all emit light; whence we can learn how immeasurable is the Buddha's power."

Li-tai Ming Hua Chi tells a story about another painting by Chang: a portrait of two Indian monks, which was cut in two during the civil wars that broke up the Liang.[68] A T'ang collector who came to own one half fell ill and dreamed that a Western monk promised to cure him if he would seek out the missing half — in a place described — and reunite the two companions. All transpired as promised, for the "miraculous power of Chang's paintings is beyond description."

The family of the author, Chang Yen-yüan, had once owned an icon by him of the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara, which they gave to the Throne in the early ninth century. The author himself had seen a most wonderful picture of Vimalakīrti with two Bodhisattvas. He quotes earlier critics praising Seng-yu's temple frescoes, who speak of his "novel shapes and strange creatures . . . an unending variety of fantastic shapes and strange forms."

Listed as preserved until the T'ang are: the "Vimalakīrti"; "Lokapālas Performing a Ritual Circumambulation"; "a Young Brahman Hermit," "Dīpaṃkara Buddha"; and "Drunken Monks." Chang Yen-yüan's usual source for this type of statement, the early T'ang *Chen-kuan Kung Ssu Hua Lu*, lists all of these except the "Dīpaṃkara" as having belonged to the Sui imperial collection, and adds a portrait of the

[64] *Keisekken*, V, pp. 8v–9r; Ono, pp. 196, 357. The Mañjuśrī is mentioned also in *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 28r.

[65] *Keisekken*, pp. 9v–11r; Ono, pp. 198–199, 358–359.

[66] Chiang-ling, though technically the capital of the Posterior Liang regime, was in actuality part of the Northern Chou empire, and so subject to the proscription.

[67] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 392c. See, in addition, the section on Kṣitigarbha in the iconographic chapter on the Bodhisattvas, pp. 210ff.

[68] *Keisekken*, p. 10r; Ono, pp. 199, 348.

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priest Pao-chih.[69] See also Chin entries 3, 15, 28.

25. Seng-yu's son, Chang Shan-kuo, is named in connection with two preserved paintings: "Prince Siddartha's Wedding," and a design for a pagoda. Both of these are called works once owned by the Sui Throne, in the early T'ang catalogue.[70]

26. Another son, Chang Ju-t'ung, is given two preserved paintings by the same authorities.[71] The name of the first varies: *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi* has "Shih-chia Hui T'u," a meeting held by Śākyamuni; the other has "Leng-chia Hui T'u," a meeting held in Lanka, i. e. Ceylon, or the meeting at which the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* was preached by Śākyamuni. The second was a set of illustrations to the *Pao-chi Ching*, or *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*. Neither the *Lankāvatāra* nor the *Ratnakūṭa* is an easily explainable choice. The former would have been based on a translation made in 443 by the missionary Guṇabhadra; its selection may have been connected with the arrival of a mission from the King of Ceylon in 527.[72] The *Ratnakūṭa* is more puzzling, since its text, in any of the translations available to a Liang painter, merely quotes a sermon on ethical and metaphysical problems said to have been delivered to an audience of monks and Bodhisattvas led by the disciple Mahā Kāśyapa.[73] Unless some of the Buddha's points were treated as parables, it is hard to see what can have been illustrated.

27. Both books name Nieh Sung as the author of a portrait of the patriarchal monk Chih-tun, which according to the *Chen-kuan Kung Ssu Hua Lu* had once belonged to the Sui collection.[74]

28. Both speak of Hsieh Ch'ien as the painter of two preserved works, "Five Angels" and "the Demon with Nine Sons" (i. e. the goddess Hārītī); these also had been in the Sui collection.[75] Since the latter work is called a "picture," it probably showed the goddess in her customary guise as a mother with a swarming brood of babies, instead of illustrating the incidents that brought her into conflict with the Buddha and led to her conversion.

29. Both books again refer to "Demon Deities" painted by the priest "Chia-fo-t'o."[76] The early T'ang catalogue defines him as a Westerner, and the work as two scrolls of cartoons (presumably done as models for the Chinese to imitate). The *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi* calls him an Indian; and through another painting of a god that he is said to have done at Shao-lin-ssu, the mountain monastery on Sung Shan in Honan, identifies him

[69] *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 29r. A valuable indication of Chang's method of painting is furnished by the description in *Chien-k'ang SL*, xvii, p. 17v, under the year 537, of I-ch'eng-ssu, "the Temple of the Single Vehicle," outside the capital to the northwest: a foundation of Wu Ti's sixth son, Prince [Hsiao] Lun, which was burned down at the end of the dynasty. "All over the temple gateway were painted protruding and receding flowers, for which that age praised the artistry of Chang Seng-yu. The flowers were done in a way derived from India, in reds, greens, and blues. Seen from a distance they gave the illusion of protruding and receding; but when inspected closely, turned out to be flat. In their time everyone marvelled at them, and so spoke of 'the protruding-and-receding temple." This passage has been translated and discussed in Naitō T.'s *The Wall Paintings of Hōryūji* (Englished by W. Acker and B. Rowland, Baltimore, 1943), pp. 205–206. There, I think erroneously, the passage is cast in the present tense, as if the gate-house had survived until the eighth century.

[70] *Keisekken*, p. 11r.; Ono, pp. 201, 359; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 27r.

[71] *Keisekken*, p. 11r.; Ono, pp. 201, 359; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 29r.

[72] *Nan Shih*, lxxviii, p. 8v. The *sūtra* translation is Nanjio's no. 175; *Daizōkyō*, XVI, no. 670.

[73] The work now known as "the Larger Ratnakūṭa Sūtra" (Nanjio's no. 23; *Daizōkyō*, XI, no. 310), was assembled, partly from older fragments and partly by new translations, by Bodhiruci in 713. Its oldest nucleus seems to be *chüan* xliii, by an anonymous Northern translator of around 400. Two other independent versions of early date are Nanjio's nos. 57 and 58 (*Daizōkyō*, XII, nos. 350, 351). The former of these was rendered into Chinese in A. D. 179 by the Kushan Lokarakṣa; the latter is an anonymous Chin piece.

[74] *Keisekken*, p. 11v.; Ono, pp. 201–202, 360; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 29v.

[75] *Keisekken*, p. 11v.; Ono, pp. 202, 360; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 28v.

[76] *Keisekken*, pp. 11v–12r,; Ono, pp. 202, 360; *Chen-kuan KSHL*, p. 28v.

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with the mysterious monk-painter whom we shall meet in entry no. 15 under the Northern Wei, with the name "Fo-t'o."

30. Brief mention is made in the *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, xii, of two foreigners who painted at the Liang court, "Chi-ti-chü" and "Mo-lo-p'u-ti" (Marabodhi?), with a comment quoted from an earlier T'ang critic, Yao Tsui: "Chinese and foreigners have such different styles that one does not know how to judge their quality."[77]

31. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, viii, names the monk T'an-fei (443–518) as having been particularly active in setting up pagodas and images.[78] The *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, IV, cites as image-makers two nuns, Hui-yün (442–514) and Fa-hsüan (434 to 516), both of whom enjoyed court patronage.[79] The latter used the funds given her to restore and embellish the buildings of her convent, until "the pure beauty of their architecture suggested the skill of the gods."

It should be noticed that the type of evidence made available through monks' biographies becomes a good deal scarcer for the half century more after the terminal date of the *Kao Seng Chuan*, 519.[80] Tao-hsüan's sequel is weighted very heavily in favor of the Sui and T'ang. If my count is correct, he provides 39 major biographies for the remainder of the Liang, and only 15 for the Ch'en, with 7 for the contemporary Posterior Liang. His coverage of the North, prior to the Sui unification, is equally sketchy: 19 for the Wei, 18 for the Northern Ch'i, and 20 for the Northern Chou.

[77] *Keisekken*, p. 11v; Ono, pp. 202, 360.
[78] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 382c.
[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 947c, 948a.
[80] A. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography," pp. 399–400, suggests that the actual date of completion may have been as late as 530.

CH'EN

A.D. 557–588

1. The summary of good works given in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, speaks at length about the accomplishments of the three principal Ch'en rulers.[1]

Wu Ti (r. 557–559) is said to have founded four new temples in the Nanking region, which were noteworthy for the splendor of their architecture. "He had twelve libraries [filled with new] copies of the Tripiṭaka; had a hundred myriad life-sized gilded bronze images fashioned; had seven thousand persons take orders as monks and nuns; and restored thirty-two old temples."

Wen Ti (r. 560–565) "restored sixty old temples, had fifty libraries [filled with new] copies of the Tripiṭaka, and had three thousand persons take orders as monks and nuns."

Hsüan Ti (r. 569–582) erected a Grand Imperial Temple, T'ai-huang-ssu, at Yang-chou, with a seven-storey wooden pagoda; and in 570 erected a 150-foot spire over a sumptuously encased Buddha's tooth.[2] "He had 20,000 figures of gilded bronze and so on fashioned; restored

[1] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 503b, c; also in *Fa Yüan* CL, c (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 1025c).
[2] See Tsukamoto Z., "Ch'en's Ascendency to Power and the Sacred Bones of Buddha" (in Japanese), *Tōhō Gakuho*, Kyōto, XIV, 1950, pp. 6ff. In emphasizing the importance of the Buddha's tooth to the prestige of the new dynasty, the author argues that it was probably claimed as the one secured in Khotan in 475 by the pilgrim Fa-hsien (Sung entry 31), which had received special attention from the Liang regime, and so in a sense could serve as a Buddhist symbol of legitimacy.

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130 myriad old statues; had twelve libraries [filled with new] copies of the Tripiṭaka; set in order fifty old temples; and had ten thousand persons take orders as monks and nuns."

"Under the five rulers of the Ch'en, who reigned a total of thirty-four years, there were 1,232 temples. Seventeen new ones were erected by the state; sixty-eight by officials of government bureaux. In the city and suburbs there were three hundred or more major temples." Previously there had been seven hundred odd around the capital, which had been burned at the time of Hou Ching's rebellion. "Under the Ch'en restoration even the humblest people all [joined in] rebuilding, until ridges ran in serried ranks like the teeth of a comb around the imperial residence; and tall pagodas looked across at each other like so many stars spread out over the realm. The *sūtra*-copying and image-making went beyond the possibilities of description."

2. Tao-hsüan's sequel, xvii, contains a biography of the monk Hui-ssu (514–577),[3] who once "dreamed that Maitreya and Amitābha were preaching and making conversions, and so had their two images made to be worshipped together. Also he dreamed that he was following Maitreya with all the host to a meeting under the Dragon-flower [Tree], and said in his heart: 'In this Last Age of Śākyamuni's [dispensation] I have received and held to the *Lotus* [*Sūtra*]. Now I have met with the Compassionate Lord; and out of sorrowful weeping have come to sudden enlightenment.'"

3. In the reign of Hsüan Ti a piece of jade sculpture was obtained from Khotan (so runs a ninth century inventory of temple treasures at Ch'ang-an).[4] It was 1.7 feet high, and showed one Buddha, four Bodhisattvas, and one celestial being in flight.

This unusual grouping of one and four occurs also in the Western Wei paintings of Cave 120 N at Tun-huang.[5]

4. *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, mentions the donations of several high officials of the Ch'en.[6] Hsü Ling (507–583), Marquis of Chang, had a myriad images fashioned.[7] Chiang Tsung (519–594) had an eighty-foot statue of Maitreya made on Mount K'uang (i.e. part of Mount Lu in Kiangsi).[8] Yüan Hsien (529–598) had ten lacquer figures made for Upper Ting-lin-ssu, the mountain temple outside of Nanking.[9]

5. The life of priest Chih-chü (538–609) contained in Tao-hsüan's sequel, x, speaks of his making an eighteen-foot Vairocana, an Amitāyus, and a copy of (?) the auspicious image at Ching-chou for worship at his temple, Tung-shan-ssu on Tiger Hill outside of Soochow.[10] These may have been done either under the Ch'en or under the Sui.

[3] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 562c–564a.

[4] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 1023a (section on Ta Hsing-shan-ssu in the *Ssu T'a Chi*, abstracted from the *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu*). I accept only very hesitantly Ōmura's attribution (p. 171) of this piece to the Ch'en dynasty. Hsüan Ti is mentioned in the sentence preceding the description, and if one assumes a *lacuna* in the existing text, it may be that a connection between him and the jade was originally intended. It is more natural to assume that his name was introduced in connection with a statement made in the preceding sentence, and that Ōmura read the passage hastily.

[5] See below, p. 128.

[6] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 506b.

[7] Biography in *Ch'en Shu*, xxvi, pp. 1r–5r. As a child won a paternal head-patting and a favorable prognostication from the renowned abbot Pao-chih (Liang entry 7). The summary given of his character speaks of his precocity in piety and understanding of the scriptures, even at a tender age, and tells how he lectured before the Crown Prince and a great audience of high priests.

[8] Biography in *Ch'en Shu*, xxvii, pp. 1r–2v, records his devotion to Buddhism. In his twenties he took the "Bodhisattva vows." In 550 he fled from the civil war that destroyed the Liang, to take refuge in a temple, Lung-hua-ssu, in Hui-chi, Chekiang, which had been founder by an ancestor six generations before.

[9] Biography in *ibid.*, xxiv, pp. 3v–5r.

[10] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 502c–503b.

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6. The same indeterminate dating, either Ch'en or Sui, must be given to the activity as an image-maker of priest P'u-ming, as recorded in the late history *Fo Tsu T'ung Chi*, ix.[11] He is said to have gone to Mount T'ien-t'ai in 582 to attach himself to Chih-che, the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school. There he once cast a sixteen-foot Vairocana, using gold that had been given him by a mysterious benefactor; and also made ten images of gilded bronze.

[11] *Ibid.*, IL, p. 197b, c.

MINOR NORTHERN STATES

1. In the second decade of the fourth century the most famous and successful Western missionary active in the war-torn North was "Fo-t'u-teng" (Buddhajanga?), who devoted his civilizing efforts chiefly to the barbarian regime of Posterior Chao (319–351). His shrewdness and persuasive powers (which included an uncanny ability as a magician) won him high favor with three princes of the Shih line there. At his death in 348 he is said to have left over 10,000 disciples and 893 temples. His "life" in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, ix, includes an incident with a familiar ring:[1]

"Shih Hu, [the third ruler], was repairing an old pagoda at Lin-chang [his capital district in Honan] that was lacking pagoda spire disks. Teng said: 'Inside Lin-tzu city [in Shantung] there used to be (?) an old *stūpa* of King Aśoka's. Underground there are spire disks and a Buddha image; on top there is a dense wood. If you dig there you will find it.' He drew a sketch to give to the royal envoy. They dug as he had directed, and actually found the disks and image."

It is noteworthy that this statue, like Sun Hao's, had no known further history, and is omitted even from Tao-hsüan's list (though the story of its finding was often quoted).

2. The *Yeh Chung Chi*, a historical work on the Posterior Chao compiled by a Chin author,[2] tells that the monarch Shih Hu (r. 334–349) "had his celebrated craftsman Hsieh Fei make an extremely ingenious four-wheeled wagon, ten feet or so wide and twenty long, of sandalwood. When the

[1] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 385b. See also A. Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XI, 3–4, 1948, pp. 321 ff.; or at a less critical level, Wieger in *Textes*, II, pp. 944–945, and in *Religious Beliefs*, pp. 413 ff.

[2] Quoted by Tsukamoto Z., *Shina Bukkyō-shi no Kenkyū*, volume on the Northern Wei, Tōkyō, 1947 (2nd. ed.), p. 65. The putative author of the original was a certain Lu Hui. Stories about Shih Hu's love of ostentatious magnificence are assembled in: his biography in *Chin Shu*, cvi, p. 2v (*re* his "Great War Hall" built of the most extravagant materials possible on a marble-faced platform 28 feet high (by the Chin measure); and p. 7v (*re* his towered hunting wagons); in *Shui Ching Chu*, ii, 11, p. 88 (where two "Great War Halls", an eastern and a western, are mentioned, and further stress is laid on his passion for building towers with colossal metal finials); and iii, 13, p. 12 (*re* the use of two of his elaborately carved stone pillars in a Northern Wei palace hall); also in the *Shih-i Chi*, ix, a miscellany attributed to Hsiao Ch'i of the Liang. This last (which I take from the "anthology of the hundred authors," *Pai Tzu Ch'üan-shu*, lxv; p. 3v in the edition of the Sao-yeh Shan Fang, 1919) is particularly interesting because it suggests a layout like that of the elaborate Buddhist temples of the later Six Dynasties period, e. g. Yung-ning-ssu at Lo-yang (Wei dynasties entry 24). In front of his Hall of State Shih Hu is said to have raised a tower 400 feet high, made of the usual costly materials (and apparently the secular equivalent of a temple pagoda). On the top floor, used for banqueting, was a bronze dragon, whose belly could hold several hundred *hu* measures of wine. The verandah corridors on the four sides below had embroidered hangings, and their roof pillars all were carved in relief with dragons, phoenixes, and every sort of beast, and were further embellished with sculpture in precious materials. It may be noted in conclusion that in 349, the year of the king's death, his "Great War Hall (s?)," two ancestral shrines, and main palace gateway were struck by lightning. Like all famous buildings that have struck the Chinese historians' imagination, they "burned for a month."

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wagon moved, nine dragons on it would spurt water to bathe a Buddha image, while [the figure of] a monk rubbed the Buddha's chest with his hand. Ten or so monks in robes would move in procession around the Buddha; as they passed in front, each would bow in worship and drop incense from his hands into a censer. When the wagon stopped, so would they."

Shih Hu, though a barbarian, seems to have been determined to enjoy as many as possible of the privileges of a Chinese ruler; the splendor of his palace was as legendary as his cruelty. Now a continuing challenge to one dynasty after another since the Han had been the problem of making a "south-pointing chariot," i.e. a wagon surmounted by a human figure that once properly set would always face south, no matter how the wheels below turned. There is a paragraph on this sort of substitute for a compass in the Sung history, and there we learn that two barbarian princes sought to emulate their Chinese rivals in this field as well. Shih Hu's chariot was made by the same Hsieh Fei; the monarch of Later Ch'in, Yao Hsing (r. 394–415) ordered his from a certain Ling-hu Sheng. (The latter was captured by the Chin expeditionary force that took Ch'ang-an in 417, and so could be studied; by Chinese standards its mechanism was crude, and the results were not infallible.)[3]

The Chinese had been interested in automata at least since Western Han. The historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien, for example, early in the first century B.C. wrote of a commandant named Chih Tu who had guarded the western pass under Emperor Ching (r. 156–141).[4] His fame in war was so great that when he died an image was made in his likeness, that could ride and shoot at a gallop, and was a fearsome sight to anyone who had not seen its insides. The art seems to have been frequently practised under the Six Dynasties, with a gradual increase in complexity. A craftsman of the early fourth century named Ch'ü-shun is said to have fashioned a kind of doll's house containing a female puppet; at a knock on the door she would open it, bow twice, and then withdraw. He also designed something like a large rat cage, with four gates and a puppet guardian for each; when the rats found a gate open and tried to escape, the manikin would instantly push it shut.[5] In entry no. 9 below, we shall meet a multiple automaton made in the eighth century in Korea, which must have represented an all-time climax in the development of the art.

3. Tao-hsuan's twentieth entry in his corpus of auspicious images is connected with the same regime of Posterior Chao.[6] He tells that in 437, "under the Sung, in the household of one Sun Yen-ts'eng, where Buddhism was a family tradition, there was a concubine named Wang Hui-ch'eng, who though young was yet a true believer and for years on end had recited the 'Lotus *Sūtra*.' She happened to notice a particolored radiance on a bank; men dug there, and at a depth of two feet found a gilded image, which including its halo and pedestal was 2.1 feet high. The pedestal inscription ran: 'Chien-wu sixth year, the cyclical characters being *keng-tzu* [340 by the Posterior Chao reckoning]; made by the priests Fa-hsin and Seng-hsing of Wa-kuan-ssu.'[7] Thereupon it was burnished smooth."

[3] See H. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, Shanghai, 1914, pp. 107–115; also A. C. Moule, "The Chinese South-pointing Chariot," *T'oung Pao*, XXIII, 1924, 1924, pp. 83–98. *Sung Shu*, xviii, p. 2r.

[4] *Shih Chi*, cxxii, pp. 1v-2r. Compare the story told in the "T'ang Wen" chapter of Lieh Tzu about the manikin singers and dancers; translated by L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings*, pp. 90–92.

[5] Quoted by Ōmura, p. 135, from *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*, 781, p. 23v; section on skilful artifacts, *Kung-ch'iao Pu*, biographies of craftsmen, vi.

[6] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 418b.

[7] The name "Wa-kuan-ssu" is a puzzle, since it is otherwise known only as that of a celebrated monastery outside of Nanking (Chin entry 28, etc.), first established in the 360's. Perhaps Tao-hsüan made a careless mistake; or the error may have been that of a later copyist. As repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiv (ibid., LIII, p. 388a), the text omits *wa*, leaving a compound meaning simply "the state temple."

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By a coincidence the earliest dated Buddhist image so far known in China, a small gilded bronze figure of a Buddha squatting in meditation, contains in its largely obliterated inscription the date "Chien-wu fourth year, the cyclical characters being *wu-hsü*"; i.e. 338.[8]

4. In the latter half of the fourth century the most celebrated monk in the Northeast seems to have been one Chu Seng-lang, who went as a hermit to the sacred Mount T'ai in Shantung in 351, and in spite of his determined isolation was courted there and given offers of high employment by a series of Northern and Southern princes.[9] The fourth entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus tells us that:[10] "Gilded bronze images were sent to him by seven realms, to wit Kokuli, Hsiang, Hu, Nü, Wu, K'un-lun, and Northern Tai. Lang worshipped these with full honors, and on many occasions they manifested auspicious omens. They are at the present time in a hall whose doors are always open; but birds do not settle on them, for all revere and appreciate them. This temple has now been in existence for some 350 years, and the bases and construction of temple and pagoda are still like the original."

What is recorded about Seng-lang suggests that little precise information was available; he lived through a period of unprecedented confusion. Tao-hsüan's "seven realms" are his familiar mixture of fact and fantasy. "Northern Tai" was the name used by the Toba Tartars before they adopted the dynastic name Wei in 386. By "Wu" must have been meant the South Chinese regime. But "Hu Kuo" means simply the land of the Western barbarians; "Nü Kuo" was an imaginary island, peopled by women, east of Japan; "K'un-lun Kuo" probably meant some part of Indonesia, if it was not Tibet seen through the clouds of myth;[11] and "Hsiang Kuo" I cannot identify at all. The north Korean kingdom of Kokuli was real enough, to be sure; but since it received its first Buddhist missionary only in 372, can hardly have been a source for bronze images in the same generation.[12] Perhaps the idea of the multiple gift came from a memory of the images that were actually sent to Seng-lang's greater contemporary Tao-an, by Emperor Fu Chien of the Former Ch'in (entry 6 below).

5. We have already met a reference to a sixteen-foot gilded image made in the North during this period by the monk Seng-chüan from the "Yellow Dragon Land" (Sung entry 11). This place name, in modern Jehol, is that of the capital used in succession by three border states ruled by the barbarian chiefs of the house of Mu-jung, Former Yen, Later Yen, and Northern Yen. Taken literally, it suggests that the statue was cast either prior to the extinction of the first state by Fu

[8] Frequently published in recent years, e. g. by H. Munsterberg, "Buddhist Bronzes of the Six Dynasties Period," *Artibus Asiae*, IX, 4, 1946, pp. 276–277, pl. 1.

[9] Biography in *Kao SC*, v (*Daizōkyō*, L, p. 354b). The rulers who courted him are named as: Fu Chien of the Former Ch'in (r. 357–385); Emperor Hsiao Wu of the Chin (r. 373–375); Yao Hsing of the Later Ch'in (r. 394–415); Mu-jung Te of the Southern Yen (r. 398–404); and T'o-pa Kuei of the Northern Wei (r. 386–408, canonized as T'ai Tsu or Tao Wu Ti). The monk died in his 85th year.

[10] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 414a; repeated in *Fa Yüan CL*, xiii (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 383c). A later paragraph in the latter (xix, p. 428b, c) says: "In the [376–395] era he erected a pagoda-temple and made an image. At the fall of Fu Chien [in 385], when monks were being assassinated [everywhere else], only Lang's group was respected, no one venturing to do violence to it." The biography of the Sui monk Fa-tsan in *Hsü Kao SC*, x (*ibid.*, L, p. 507a) tells of his bringing an imperially-presented relic to the temple that had been erected for Seng-lang by King Mu-jung Te (with a fief of three departments, *hsien*, to maintain it). "After 400 years the Buddha image (s?) still have fresh, sparkling colors, as if they had been newly made." (Note that the time interval has been further increased here, presumably as a result of the Chinese rhetorician's instinctive preference for emphasis over arithmetic). It should be remarked in passing that the temple's name was changed in 583 to Shen-t'ung-ssu, under which it has survived until modern times; see Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, I (in the English text volume, pp. 54ff.).

[11] Ferrand in *Jour. As.*, 1919, pp. 318ff., 332–333.

[12] See the mid 14th century Korean history *Samguksagi*, Kokuli section, xviii (p. 185 in the modern Japanese reprint, Kyōto, 1944 (4th ed.), sponsored by the Chōsen-shi Gakkai).

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Chien in 370, or in the interim between that monarch's overthrow and the final conquest of the region by the Northern Wei (i.e. 385–436). Since the monk's activity in the South was completed under the Sung (i.e. after 420), the latter alternative is the more likely.

6. For Fu Chien's offering to abbot Tao-an, see Chin entry 10. The gift apparently was made while the famous monk was still at Hsiang-yang, i.e. prior to 379, when the Ch'in troops took that city and carried him back to Ch'ang-an. One of the images was "foreign," a fact that Fu Chien's contacts with the West make entirely plausible. In his heyday he received envoys from as far away as Ferghana (which sent its traditional specialty, horses that "sweated blood", as well as rare birds and five hundred other curious items). Even "India" – perhaps the late Kushan regime surviving in Gandhāra – is on the list, represented by a gift of asbestos cloth. The total number of foreign countries that came to his court "to pay tribute" is set in the Chin history at sixty-two.[13]

7. The *Ming Seng Chuan* version of Tao-an's biography concludes by mentioning, among the master's converts, the layman Wang Chia.[14] The latter was a well-known scholar recluse, who with a hundred-odd followers lived in mountain caves. He first enjoyed the patronage of Shih Hu, and when the latter's regime disintegrated moved to the vicinity of Ch'ang-an. There he was much courted by the nobles and won a reputation as a soothsayer. Fu Chien consulted him, we are told, before undertaking his invasion of the South, and failed to understand Chia's cryptic warning. When Yao Ch'ang seized the capital in 386, he first showed the hermit the same sort of deference; but when he too received an incomprehensible prophecy, he flew into a passion and had the seer executed. The *Meisōden-shō* excerpt speaks of Wang Chia as being one of the group who joined Tao-an in "praying for rebirth in Tuṣita, before Maitreya's image." In addition he is said to have had a Maitreya image made in 391, "which is now in Hsüan-chi-ssu" (a temple that I have failed to identify).

8. The forty-seventh entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus runs:[15] "Under the T'ang, in Yung-chou east of Hu-hsien [in Shensi], at Li-chao-chü on the west side of the Li River, a gilded image was found. It was 3.6 feet high, or four feet including its aureole, and frequently emitted light. The statue had a bared right shoulder, and was most majestic. I heard about it, and went to inspect it. On the pedestal was an inscription reading:

'Ch'in, Chien-yüan twentieth year [i.e. 384], fourth month and eighth day; made at the central temple in Ch'ang-an. The Royal Consort Hui-shao, in gratitude to the Buddha [Śākyamu-]ni, says: "Fortunate is the person who meets an image preserved from the past; and so I have used all the funds left to me to fashion and cast this divine semblance. If one is truly thankful, one's prayers must be answered, and will bring an equal felicity to the whole universe."' So ran the wording.

"When I asked how it had been discovered, I learned that in the time when both Buddhism and Taoism were proscribed it had been stored away in the Li River, in the Lo-jen eddy. A man going by on the bank heard a voice from the eddy and saw a light shining there. In the village an old man explained [the case]; so he hurried to the river to hunt in the pure sand of the eddy, where the water was emitting light; and after digging, found the image in question. That was still during the Chou regime, so the villagers

[13] *Chin Shu*, cxiii, p. 8v, 10v. Fu Chien was able to extend his conquests into Central Asia after he had annexed the semi-independent Chinese state of Former Liang in 376 (which had straddled the Kansu corridor since the downfall of the Western Chin, and had itself enjoyed the same profitable contacts with the city-states along the caravan route westward). See Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 990–991.

[14] From v; p. 7r in the *Meisōden-shō*. Wang's biography in *Chin Shu*, xcv, p. 13r, v, offers no corroboration.

[15] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 422b.

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kept it a secret while they made their common offerings. All alone in its darkened room it would emit light and glow of itself. Today I am told that it is [still] to be seen in the village."

Whatever the value of the story as a whole may be, it is certain that Tao-hsüan's transcript of the Queen's inscription is not at all like preserved ones of early date.

9. A biography of the monk Hui-ch'eng in Tao-hsüan's sequel, xxiv, states that in 616 "while he was at the eastern capital [i.e. Lo-yang] he drew up a copy of the sandalwood image from Kucha, sixteen feet in height, that Kumārajīva brought from that city under the Later Ch'in. So frequently had its power for good omen been felt that he used the process of copying to preserve it. At present [his work] is at Lo-chou in Ching-t'u-ssu."[16]

This is the earliest affirmative statement I know of the claim that the original "first image" of sandalwood, made for King Udyāna, entered China with the great missionary Kumārajīva. For a contemporary denial of the story, also related by Tao-hsüan, see my entry no. 5 under the Liang.

The biographies of Kumārajīva and Lü Kuang, the general who captured him in Kucha, contain plenty of background material for the story of the sandalwood image; unfortunately they mention no statue.[17] The monk's life tells that when Fu Chien's fortunes were at their height, in 377, his court was visited by several Central Asian potentates, including a younger brother of the King of Kucha, who said that the West was full of treasures; in addition the Grand Historiographer reported that a star was visible over the foreign plains, signifying that a wise man of great virtue was to enter China. Fu Chien's own biography says nothing about this, naturally enough, but reports his growing anger with the laxity of the Central Asian city-states in attending his court and paying him tribute.[18] Finally he selected one of the most successful and trustworthy of his generals, Lü Kuang (337–399), and ordered him west with 70,000 picked cavalrymen, on a punitive campaign. After a perilous desert crossing, in which its morale was preserved by Kuang's reckless bravery and a timely rain-storm, the army broke into the Tarim basin. The ruler of Karashahr and his neighbors surrendered at once; Kucha held out. Kuang camped a little away from the walls of the city, throwing up a massive rampart of earth around him which he made more formidable in appearance by stationing a great number of wooden figures on the top, in the guise of soldiers. Some of his men were so apprehensive that they claimed to have seen a gigantic black dragon with blazing eyes, moving on the ground. To this the general retorted that dragons were a sign of good omen; and the night of his first attack "he dreamed that a golden figure flew out across the city walls; at which he said: 'This means the Buddha-spirit has departed, and the barbarians are surely lost.'" In a final pitched battle an army of would-be rescuers of the city was routed; the King fled with his treasures; and Kucha with some thirty other realms capitulated. Once inside the city Kuang held a triumphal feast, and ordered one of his officers to write a poem satirizing the luxury of the palaces. This happened in 384, just the year before Fu Chien's ill-fated invasion of the South; Kuang was able to report back to his ruler, and was rewarded by a generous promotion.

His biography continues: "Having captured Kucha, he conceived the idea of staying there; but that was the time when he had first captured Kumārajīva, and the latter urged him to return eastward." He started home with his loot on the backs of 20,000 camels, as well as troupes of entertainers, over a thousand kinds of rare birds and beasts, and 10,000 odd chargers. On the way

[16] *Ibid.*, L, p. 633c.

[17] Kumārajīva's in *Kao SC*, ii (ibid., p. 331b, c); Lü's in *Chin Shu*, cxxii, pp. 1rff. Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1010–1011.

[18] *Ibid.*, cxiv, pp. 2r–3v.

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he learned of Fu Chien's catastrophic defeat and death; found his way already barred by hostile rivals; fought his way past them to Liang-chou in Kansu; and set himself up there as an independent ruler. In 396 he promoted himself to the title of "Celestial Monarch." Soon, however, local enemies began to pinch off parts of his kingdom. On his death in 399 what strength his dynasty still possessed was quickly wasted in quarrels over the succession. The last Liang King, his son Lung, was so continually harassed that in 403 he asked for refuge with the most civilized of his enemies, King Yao Hsing of Later Ch'in, and was escorted by the latter's soldiers, with what remained of the Liang treasure (including Kumārajīva), to Ch'ang-an.[19]

The well-ripened version of the sandalwood image story that was told Japanese worshippers at the end of the tenth century claims that the statue went with the missionary from Kucha to Liang-chou and then to Ch'ang-an. There it was found by the expeditionary force from the South that dislodged the Yao dynasty in 416, and was carried back to the Chin capital (that time without its companion, for Kumārajīva had died in 405), to be housed at Lung-kuang-ssu. For further details, see the appendix.[20]

In 519 when the Northern Wei pilgrims Sung Yün and Hui-sheng reached the Central Asian village of Tso-mo-ch'eng on their way to India they found there in a field what seemed to them "a Chinese Buddha with Bodhisattvas, for they had no barbarian look. Inquiring of an old man, they were told that Lü Kuang had had these made when he was smiting the barbarians."[21]

10. For the gifts sent to the celebrated abbot Hui-yüan on Mount Lu by Yao Hsing of the Later Ch'in (r. 394–416), see my entry no. 20 under the Chin.

Yao Hsing's biography in the Chin history dwells at length on his admiration for Kumārajīva, and the support that he gave the missionary's translation project.[22] "Once Hsing had been converted to the Buddhist Way, the nobility and lesser folk naturally wished to follow his example. The *śramaṇas* who came thither from foreign parts numbered over five thousand. A pagoda was erected in Yung-kuei-li, and a Prajñā Terrace was raised in the Middle Palace. A thousand monks and more were continually in meditation. Conversion was carried into the provinces [to such an extent] that nine of every ten families were Buddhist."

The Northern Sung dynasty local history of Ch'ang-an, Hsing's capital, the *Ch'ang-an Chih*,[23] holds that in addition to the pagoda and the terrace he "made an [artificial] Mount Sumeru. On its four faces were lofty rock cliffs, with rare birds and strange beasts, Immortals and Buddha figures, all the height of originality and cunning."

There are tantalizingly few records out of which to construct even a skeleton history of mountain-making for Buddhist purposes. In the next chapter we shall meet a similar tribute to the sacred mountains of Indian legend, an artificial Vulture Peak, ascribed to a contemporary monarch, the ruler of the Toba Tartars (see entry no. 1 under the Northern Wei). There are several early seventh century references from Japan, doubtless preserved because the early Japanese histories were compiled in an age of naive curiosity. The earliest of these probably explains the others; in 612 a would-be immigrant from the southwest Korean kingdom of Pekche was accepted because he claimed to be able to

[19] *Ibid.*, cxxii, p. 9r.; Wieger, *op. cit.*, pp. 1025–1026, 1028–1030.

[20] See pp. 264–265 below.

[21] This travel record concludes the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*. Reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, LI, as no. 2092; the relevant passage is on p. 1018c, and is translated by Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvi.

[22] *Chin Shu*, cxvii–cxviii; especially cxvii, pp. 4v–5r.

[23] By Sung Min-ch'iu, an eleventh century court historian who specialized in T'ang affairs, and was the owner of an unusually large family library. Biography in *Sung Shih*, ccxci. I quote this passage from Ōmura, p. 174.

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make the shapes of hills and mountains. He was employed to "draw" a Sumeru; and very likely it was his teaching that made possible the erection of a Vulture Peak, of piled-up drums, at Shitennōji in 648, and of the three Sumerus recorded for 657, 659, and 660 (the last "as high as a pagoda").[24]

One of Tao-hsüan's typical fabrications, pieced together out of scraps of fact and fantasy, is a "description" of the Jetavana monastery at Śrāvastī.[25] There is a jungle profusion of details, some drawn from the most splendidly equipped Chinese temples or palaces, others borrowed from the routine miracles of Indian story-telling. Among the many precincts of the Jetavana, Tao-hsüan locates no less than three artificial Sumerus, as well as two giant incense-burners in Sumeru form. All are provided with accessories of the utmost elaboration: the walls and towers of celestial cities (with processions that go in and out of the gateways to mark the hours); pools, groves of trees that preach sermons, myriads of divine beings and music-making angels, dragons, sun, moon, and constellations ad infinitum. The fact back of his ecstatic writing was probably a memory of actual mountain models equipped with automata, that Tao-hsüan had seen in the temples at Ch'ang-an. In corroboration stands the record of an extraordinary, animated "Myriad Buddhas Mountain" that is said to have been presented by the kingdom of Silla in Korea to the T'ang Emperor Tai Tsung (r. 673–779).[26] It was about ten feet high, and carved out of sandalwood; the largest Buddhas were something over an inch tall. In front were several thousand priests, who when a bell was struck, would move, prostrate themselves, and chant in a ritual procession.

The historical background of all this must have been on the one hand the ancient art of making small-scale mountains for garden use; and on the other the designing of incense-burners in mountain form, the so-called *Po-shan hsiang-lu*. We read, for example, in an account of the wonders of the Han capital, that in the last decades of the first century B.C., a master craftsman named Ting Huan made a *Po-shan hsiang-lu* in nine tiers, with strange birds and marvellous beasts sculptured upon it, that seemed to move before one's eyes as if they were real.[27] Only an increase in size, the addition of Buddhist details, and — in the case of Sumeru — perhaps a suggestion of its legendary hour-glass form, would have been necessary to adapt this sort of experience to the new requirements.

A much simplified representation of Sumeru in relief has been preserved over the doorway leading from anteroom to cella in Cave X, Yün-kang.[28]

11. In the generation before the Toba Tartars won final supremacy for their regime of Northern Wei, the far northwest was dominated by the prosperous state of Northern Liang, ruled by the semi-barbarian house of Chü-ch'ü. Something of the character of the Buddhism that prevailed there under the sponsorship of King Meng-sun (r. 401–433)[29] may be glimpsed in the biography

[24] Recorded in the early eighth century history *Nihon Shoki*; in the translation by W. G. Aston, *Nihongi*, London, 1896, the excerpts are found in I, pp. 144, 230–231, 251, 259, 265.

[25] Reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, XLV, as no. 1899; pp. 882ff.

[26] Quoted by Ōmura, p. 453, from the *Tu Yang Tsa-pien*, by Su Hsiao of the T'ang: a record of events during the century beginning with Tai Tsung in the 760's, concerned chiefly with the novel skills and rarities that attracted the attention of courtiers. The gift is also noted in the Korean history *Samgukyusa*, iii, 18 (compiled by the monks Muguk and Iron around the middle of the Koli dynasty, 918–1392). There more details are described: "At the slightest breeze butterflies would flutter, and birds dance."

[27] Ōmura, p. 104, quoting from the *Hsi Ching Tsa Chi*, an account of sights and happenings at Ch'ang-an during the Western Han, probably by Wu Chün of the Liang.

[28] Mizuno S. and Nagahiro T., *Yün-kang*, Kyōto, 1952, VII, pl. 23, p. 108.

[29] The King's biographies in *Chin Shu*, cxxix, *Wei Shu*, xcix, and *Pei Shih*, xciii, say nothing about his patronage of Buddhism. The first contains a curious account of his journey west to a "Salt Lake" to worship at the temple of the goddess Hsi Wang Mu. In the temple there was a picture of "the dark stone deity"; about this the King ordered one of his officials to write a poetic eulogy, which was thereafter set on a stele in front of the temple. *Sung Shu*, xcviii, is

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of the best-known missionary to the Liang state, "T'an-mo-ch'an" (Dharmakṣema).[30] The *Kao Seng Chuan*, ii, tells that he was a Central Indian, who began his Buddhist studies as a boy in the Hīnayāna canon, and won renown for his skill in debate. An opponent, the "white-headed Dhyāna Master," presented him with a copy of the *Mahāparanirvāṇa Sūtra* written on bark, which won him over to the Mahāyāna point of view. His elder brother, a great elephant hunter, made the mistake of killing the king's favorite white-eared elephant, and was in turn executed; the angry monarch wished to exterminate the whole family, but in the end spared Dharmakṣema out of respect for his courageous spirit. His prowess in magic became so marked that he was known throughout the West as "the Great Master of Spells." He subsequently visited Kashmir, but found that country predominantly Hīnayāna and unsympathetic; and so moved on, first to Kucha and then to the Liang capital in Kansu, where he was received with great cordiality by King Meng-sun. He studied Chinese for three years, to prepare himself for the routine task of translation; acquired an elegant literary style; and then worked his way through a series of *sūtras* (including a text destined to be popular with both Chinese and Japanese rulers for many generations, the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa)*.[31] In this period he is said to have returned to the West once, to acquire a complete text of his favorite *Paranirvāṇa Sūtra*, and to have found what he needed at Khotan. He also used his magic powers to dispel a host of demons of pestilence who were threatening the realm (incidentally loaning enough to the King to enable him to see them and realize the danger). On the other hand he seems to have failed to intervene when Meng-sun undertook a campaign against one of his barbarian neighbors in 429, and was not only beaten but lost his heir in the process. The King flew into a fury, accused the Buddha of failing to support him, and decreed that all *śramanas* under fifty should return to lay life. Previously he had had a sixteen-foot stone image made on behalf of his mother, and this statue now wept so copiously that in the end he changed his mind and cancelled the order.

(It is interesting to note that much the same sort of crisis, brought on by an enemy's successes, threatened the influence of "Fo-t'u-teng" over the bloodthirsty Shih Hu of Later Chao, a century before. A skeptic might suspect that the later story was indebted to the earlier; on the other hand the situation must have arisen many times in the early centuries, and have taxed the ingenuity of many persuasive missionaries.)

The next incident told of Dharmakṣema's career has also a familiar ring: when his fame reached the ruler of the Toba Tartars, the latter is said to have demanded that Meng-sun send him there, or face a threat of war. The Liang King declined, as tactfully as possible; and perhaps as a reaction, when Dharmakṣema asked to return to the West once more, was so enraged that he had the monk murdered on the road. All lamented the horrid deed; in broad daylight Meng-sun's courtiers saw him being attacked by demon deities with swords; and before long he too was dead, in the same year, 433.

Tao-hsüan's sixteenth entry deals with the

equally silent about Buddhism, but testifies to the unusual literary activity of the regime. An embassy to the Sung in 437 brought a whole library of books, many of them local compositions, to offer to the Throne. It should be remembered that the Kansu region escaped a half century of the looting and blood-letting that demoralized the rest of north China, through the survival of Chinese rule there under the Former Liang (323–376); and so may well have retained a greater degree of traditional culture than elsewhere. In addition, its rulers – not only the Chinese house of Chang in the fourth century, but also their semi-barbarian successors, down to the Northern Wei conquest in 439 – acknowledged themselves at least nominal vassals of the Nanking court, and so maintained some contact with the South.

30 *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 335c–337b. For a justification of the transliteration of T'an-mo-ch'an into Dharmakṣema (instead of Dharmarakṣa, the version used in Nanjio's catalogue) see P. C. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, Paris, 1927, I, pp. 212–213.

31 The *Chin-kang Ming Ching*, Nanjio's no. 127, reprinted in *ibid.*, XVI, no. 663. For Dharmakṣema's other translations, see Nanjio, p. 411.

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sixteen-foot stone image, and the persecution that its tears forestalled.[32] The details are as usual more vivid; the King resolves to destroy the pagoda-temples and to drive out the clerics; a group of monks waits for him on the roadside, and the sight of them so whips up his fury that he calls for his executioners; after witnessing the miracle he provides a grand maigre feast.

Tao-hsüan's fifteenth entry deals with "the moulded auspicious images in the Liang-chou cliffs."[33] He speaks of the founding of the Northern Liang regime in 397, its thirty odd years of prosperity under King Meng-sun, and the King's respect for good works that led him to build temples and pagodas in his capital instead of merely squandering his treasures on such perishable things as palaces. "A hundred *li* to the south of his city there is a line of cliffs that runs a great distance east and west. There he excavated caves and installed the holy likenesses; some being of stone and others moulded in clay, in so infinite a variety of forms, that those who worship are amazed and dazzled in mind and eye. Among these there are certain saintly monks made of clay that seem just like men who must continually walk about because they have as yet no place of repose. Seen from afar they move; it is [only] when inspected closely [that they are revealed as] immobile; even the expressions on their faces [suggest that] they are moving. Sometimes dirt has been spread on the ground so as to keep watch on their movements; for when no one is nigh they actually do set foot on the earth, and they make the moist footprints of men going and coming without a halt. This phenomenon has continued for over a century now, or so the people thereabouts say."

As a postscript to the next entry Tao-hsüan adds that "thirty *li* or so southeast of the present Sha-chou on San-wei Shan, Mount Three-perils . . . where the cliffs are two *li* high, it is said that there are 280 Buddhist images, whose niches gleam with radiance." The context indicates that this too was thought to be a work carried out by King Meng-sun.

The former of these two sites has recently been identified as "the Celestial Ladder Mountain," T'ien-t'i Shan, in Wu-wei-hsien, south of Liang-chou.[34] The latter has always been known; Sha-chou was the T'ang administrative center for the Tun-huang district, and a T'ang stele in one of the Tun-huang caves calls the mountain in which they were excavated San-wei Shan.[35] The Northern Liang monarch acquired control of the region in 421. One modern visitor claims to have found a cave inscription dating from 425, which if authentic would at least show that work was carried on there during his reign. A recent Japanese critical study has suggested that the style of the most archaic caves warrants their ascription as a group to Northern Liang, or even earlier.[36] (By the testimony of another T'ang stele, the first

[32] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 418a.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 417c–418a. Tao-hsüan's *Shih-chia Fang-chih*, (ii in *ibid.*, LI, no. 2088, p. 973; dated 650) speaks of a stele of King Meng-sun erected at this site.

[34] Recent archaeological activity has rediscovered a number of important cave-shrine sites in Kansu, dating from the fifth century on. At the relatively small group on T'ien-t'i Shan, only two preserved caves out of a total of thirteen show a dominant pre-Sui style. The report by Shih Yen in the Peking National Library's *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzu-liao*, 1955, 2, pp. 76ff., identifies the site with the one mentioned by Tao-hsüan, and suggests that the large, early-style cave with a central pier that was demolished in the earthquake of 1927 was King Meng-sun's work.

[35] The stele, dated 776, is quoted by Ōmura, pp. 522ff. This nomenclature is also verified by the *Tun-huang Lu*, a brief account of the region preserved in one of the manuscripts acquired by Stein for the British Museum, which has been discussed, ascribed tentatively to the late ninth century, and translated by Lionel Giles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (etc.)*, 1914, pp. 703–728, and 1915, pp. 41–47. The latter, p. 42, however, calls San-wei Shan the range across the stream toward which the cave-shrines face, rather than the slope from which they were excavated.

[36] The stylistic argument has been made by Fukuyama T., "A Tentative Chronology of the Tun-huang Caves" (in Japanese), *Ars Buddhica* (i. e. *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, Ōsaka), XIX, 1953, pp. 24ff. The inscription of 425, dated by a Sung era, was recorded by the Chinese member of the second Fogg Museum expedition, in 1925, Ch'en Wan-li, in his travel record *Hsi Hsing Jih-chi*, Peking, 1925, pp. 143–144; and is quoted by Fukuyama, p. 25. The use of a Sung *nien hao* is plausible enough; King Meng-sun's biography in *Sung Shu*

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Tun-huang cave was opened in 366, under the Former Ch'in, by a certain *śramana* Lo-tsun, as a result of a vision in which "he saw all at once a golden light with the shapes of the Thousand Buddhas.")[37]

The chapter on religions on the Northern Wei history speaks of the special fidelity of the province of Liang to Buddhism; and adds that the land of Tun-huang, "from its contacts with the clerics and laity of the West, obtained therefrom ancient models [to follow]; and the villages were alike in possessing many pagodas and temples. When in the T'ai-yen period [435–439] the province of Liang was conquered [this actually occurred in 439] and its population was transferred to the [Wei] capital, the monks came eastward with their Buddhist paraphernalia, and 'teaching by images' spread far and wide."[38]

The careers of two princely survivors of the Northern Liang collapse stress the paradoxes inherent in the Buddhism of the time. The Prince of An-yang, a younger brother of the great King, was a resolute theologian, who had visited the great Mahāyāna center of Khotan and learned the secrets of meditation. After the Wei triumph he escaped southward to the Sung realm and led there the life of a wandering hermit, propagating the cults of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya.[39] The Prince of An-chou, on the other hand, followed the more normal path of a warrior; fleeing westward, he fought his way in Central Asia to a short-lived kingship over the city-state of Turfan. From his reign there has survived a stone stele with a very long text, full of literary flourishes and wrongly written characters, which probably records the making of a (now lost) image of Maitreya Bodhisattva in the year 445.[40]

12. *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xvii, tells the edifying story of a village in the North in which "there were a thousand odd households, all of which clove to the Great Dharma, made images, and supported the religious houses."[41] The barbarian ruler of Western Ch'in in Shensi, Ch'i-fu Mu-mo (r. 428–431), once flew into a passion and resolved to exterminate the whole place. The villagers, facing death, put all their trust in Avalokiteśvara. "Just at that moment Mu-mo saw something fly down from the sky and circle a pillar of his dwelling. He watched in amazement, and discovered that it was a copy of the *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*. He had someone read it to him, and then in his joy cancelled the sentence of execution."

stresses his readiness to accept the Nanking ruler as overlord. It is puzzling, however, to find that the cave "90c" named by Ch'en is not located on Pelliot's general plan, and that the inscription seems to have escaped the notice of the later Chinese who have studied the caves intensively since the 1940's. Nothing of the kind is mentioned in the detailed description and inventory compiled by Hsieh Chih-liu, *Tun-huang Wei-shu Hsü-lu*, Shanghai, 1955, on the basis of a year's stay in 1944; for him the only early dated inscriptions are those of 538 and 539 in his Cave 83 (i. e. Pelliot's 120 N). Perhaps the Sung inscription was effaced in the two decades after Ch'en's visit; or perhaps the explanation is implicit in Langdon Warner's highly unflattering account of his Chinese assistant's selfishness and mendacity (*Buddhist Wall-paintings*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. xiv–xv).

37 Stele of 678, quoted by Ōmura, pp. 517ff. and especially p. 518.

38 *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 4r. In Ware's translation, *T'oung Pao*, 1933, see especially, pp. 134–135.

39 *Kao SC*, ii, included in the life of the missionary Dharmarakṣa (*Daizōkyō*, L, p. 337a). The Prince's own translations are listed in Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 411.

40 Biographies in *Wei Shu*, xcix, p. 8r, v, and in *Pei Shih*, xciii, p. 11r. The stele text is quoted by Ōmura, pp. 177–178; while a translation with copious notes and a careful discussion of the historical situation has been made by O. Franke, "Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idiqutschahri", *Anhang z. d. Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1907, pp. 1ff. Franke then interpreted the date as 469, but has now accepted the year 445; see his *Geschichte*, III, pp. 298–99.

41 *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 410b. The so-called "Avalokiteśvara *Sūtra*" must have been the chapter devoted to that deity in the "Lotus"; for which see my pp. 155ff. below. The Western Ch'in regime, formed from the debris of Fu Chien's empire in 385 and eventually absorbed by Northern Wei expansion in 431, is the subject of brief notes in Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1003, 1054–1055, 1081.

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THE WEI DYNASTIES

A. D. 386–556

1. Among the seven realms that are said to have presented gilded bronze images to the much-courted monk Seng-lang (see entry no. 4 in the previous chapter) is cited "Northern Tai": i.e. the Toba Tartar state, called by the name that it used prior to the adoption of "Wei" in 386. I have suggested that the story is apocryphal. The chapter on religions in the Wei history speaks of Seng-lang's retreat on Mount T'ai, and the fact that the Wei ruler T'ai Tsu (r. 398–408) sent him a letter; the accompanying gift, however, is described in much more plausible terms as "a felt mat, a begging bowl, and a staff."[1]

The Wei history continues by quoting an imperial edict of 398 praising Buddhism and ordering that "the authorities concerned at the capital should erect and embellish proper examples of the [Sacred] Visage and set in order shrines and retreats, so that devout persons who come hither may have a place to lodge. In that year were made a five-storeyed pagoda,and halls [containing replicas of?] the Vulture Peak and Mount Sumeru, with painted decorations; in addition to which they constructed a lecture hall, a hall for meditation, and cells for the *śramaṇas*, all most dignified and complete."

The seventh century *Pien Cheng Lun* iii, quotes the essentials of the edict of 398, and then provides a somewhat different resumé of T'ai Tsu's good works.[2] He erected a fifteen storey pagoda (this may be a later copyist's error); founded two temples; had a complete Tripiṭaka copied and a thousand gilded images cast; and used to summon three hundred noted monks every month to a Dharma meeting. The skeptical reader may well be uneasy in the presence of so complete a catalogue at so early a period.

2. Emperor T'ai Tsung (r. 409–423) according to the Wei history continued his predecessor's achievements "and set up pagodas and images in the capital and in outlying towns in all directions."[3]

Writers on Chinese Buddhism in the Six Dynasties period have noted that whereas in the South the religion tended to preserve at least a partial independence from state control (and for a time even preached that its clerics owed no allegiance to the ruler), the situation in the North moved toward the opposite extreme. Under the Northern Wei both secular and religious leaders seem to have agreed, most of the time, that their interests lay in the same direction, and could be best served by an efficient merger.[4] The Toba

[1] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 3r. *Re* this period in general see Tsukamoto, *Shina Bukkyō-shi no Kenkyū*, pp. 68ff. The statement made about the ruler's erections in 398 has been discussed by Mizuno S. in *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku*, VI, 1, 1942, pp. 16–23. He believes that the reference to the Vulture Peak indicates a mountain background provided for an icon group that illustrated the "Lotus *Sūtra*," probably the familiar juxtaposition of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna. The early date given seems to him unlikely, especially since the standard translation of the "Lotus" used in the North, Kumārajīva's, was not completed until 406. He treats the quotation rather cavalierly in assuming that both mountain representations were housed in a single hall (for otherwise the temple would have had the unheard-of feature of two main halls). The two-tiered design of the rear cella niche of Cave VII at Yün-kang suggests to him the form this combination of two mountains might have taken. There the bottom tier shows Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna seated against a (now quite indistinct) mountain setting that presumably was intended to stand for the terrestrial Vulture Peak, where the "Lotus" was preached. The upper tier shows an enthroned Maitreya, doubtless in His Tuṣita Heaven, which lies "above Mount Sumeru." Finally, the monastery plan required by his interpretation, a sequence of pagoda, main hall, lecture hall, and monks' dormitories, is an obvious forerunner of what the Japanese were to imitate later, and to call the "Shitennōji plan" (from its earliest known example in Japan).

[2] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 506c.

[3] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 3r; Tsukamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 79ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 75, 76, 77. See also K. Ch'en, "On Some Factors Responsible for the Anti-Buddhist Persecution under the Pei-ch'ao," *Harvard Jour. of As. Stud.*, XVII, 1–2, 1954, pp. 261ff.

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Emperor was valuable to the Church to a degree that in the South was probably not matched until the reign of Liang Wu Ti, a century later. In this connection it should be noted that T'ai Tsu and T'ai Tsung delegated control over the rapidly growing Buddhist personnel to a trusted priest, one Fa-kuo, who became a kind of Northern archbishop (with secular duties and titles as well). He is said to have repaid the first Emperor's confidence by calling him "a present-day Buddha, to whom it is entirely proper that *śramaṇas* should do reverence . . . I do not bow to the Son of Heaven; it is the Buddha whom I am worshipping."[5]

3. Emperor Shih Tsu, or T'ai Wu Ti (r. 424–452) "at the outset of his reign also carried on the achievements of T'ai Tsu and T'ai Tsung. He often invited *śramaṇas* of especial virtue to hold discussions in his presence; and on the eighth day of the fourth month [i. e. the Buddha's birthday] when the various Buddhist images were driven in procession along the avenues [of the capital], he would attend in person, watching and scattering flowers to do them honor, from a belvedere of the palace gate."[6] He was primarily a great conqueror and empire-builder; as we have seen, his conquest of the Northwest ended by deepening the Buddhist coloring of the Toba capital region, through the forced transfer thither of the subjects of Northern Liang.

Later, however, the Emperor came under the influence of two shrewd, persistent, and unscrupulous enemies of Buddhism, one a Taoist magician, the other Confucian reactionary. Persuaded in the end that the foreign religion was both untrue and a potential danger to his own authority, he resolved to uproot it as completely as possible from the Northern domain. The Wei history quotes first a decree (promulgated in 444) ordering that all households maintaining private monk-chaplains should surrender them under pain of death. The Crown Prince, a devout believer, is said to have remonstrated several times, but to no purpose.[7] A second edict, issued in 446, was couched in the most abusive terms. One clause specially concerns us: "Henceforth anyone who dares to serve the barbarian god and to fashion his image, whether these be figures of clay or of bronze, shall be executed." The civil and military authorities were told that "wherever there are pagodas, images, and barbarian scriptures these are to be utterly destroyed and consumed by fire; and the *śramaṇas* are all to be slain, without distinction between young and old."[8]

The Crown Prince did all that he could to lessen the impact of the blow. Through the warnings that he issued great numbers of monks were able to escape, and it was found possible to conceal books and images made of precious materials like gold and silver; but buildings were completely destroyed wherever the edict reached. Only several years later did the tide turn, as the anti-Buddhist party was discredited and the Emperor began to repent. No open restoration was possible until his death in 452.

The annals of T'ai Wu Ti in the Wei history add a curious parenthetical note to the record of the persecution.[9] In the fourth month of 446 when a five-storeyed pagoda was demolished at the old capital site of Yeh, two jade imperial seals were discovered inside a clay image. Both were inscribed with the same legend: "With the mandate granted by Heaven comes long life and eternal glory." One bore a further inscription alongside: "Han Realm-transmitting Imperial Seal, Received by the Wei."

4. The Wei history records the career of a monk named Hui-shih, who was captured and brought back to the Wei capital at the conquest of the

[5] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 3v.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 4r; Tsukamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 87ff.
[7] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 4v; cf. Ware's translation in *T'oung Pao*, 1933, pp. 138–139. Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1114–1116.
[8] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 5r; Ware, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–142.
[9] *Wei Shu*, iv, 2, p. 4r.

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semi-barbarian state of Hsia in 431.[10] After winning renown and the imperial respect as an assiduous meditator he died in the late 430's at the "octagonal temple" – so named from the form of its main hall? The routine wonders are told: for several days after his death his body remained in a seated position, without change of expression; ten years later when an edict made it necessary to exhume the corpse for re-burial outside the city limits, it was found to be fresh and uncorrupted. "Over his grave was set up a stone shrine in which his portrait was depicted, and this remained intact throughout the period of persecution."

5. Emperor Kao Tsung, or Wen Ch'eng Ti (r. 452–465) in his first year issued a decree of restoration, pretending tactfully that his predecessor's intentions had been exceeded by over-zealous subordinates. Permission was granted for every administrative area to erect one pagoda in some well-populated place, and for a limited number of persons to take holy orders (from fifty in each large province, to ten in an outlying commandery). The demolished pagoda-temples were to be restored and reequipped with images and sacred writings.[11]

In 452, also, the Wei history notes that "the authorities were commanded to fashion a stone image that should be in the likeness of the Emperor's person. When this was completed [there were found to be] black stones on the face and under the feet that were mysteriously identical with the upper and lower moles on the emperor's body. Some explained [the phenomenon] as a response to his utter devotion."[12] This curious commission sounds like a conclusion drawn from the premise that had been stated by the first Wei "archbishop", Fa-kuo, that the Emperor was a present-day Buddha.

The same connection of ideas may very well have lain back of the order cited in the Wei history for 454, directing "the authorities concerned to have five standing images of Śākyamuni cast in the 'grand temple of the five-storeyed [pagoda]' on behalf of the five Emperors from T'ai Tsu on; each to be sixteen feet high, with a total use of 25,000 catties of copper."[13]

The account continues: "At the outset of the T'ai-an era [455–459] a party of five foreign monks from Ceylon, Yaśugupta, Buddhanandi, and others, came to the capital bearing three Buddha images. They claimed to have traversed all the kingdoms of the West and to have seen the Buddha's shadow and His *uṣṇīṣa*. The princes of those foreign realms in turn had send artists to copy [the shadow] likeness, but none of those could compare with the one made by [Buddha] nandi. If looked at from a distance of ten paces it shone like fire, but as one came closer the brightness lessened. There was also a *śramaṇa* from Kashgar who reached the capital, bringing the Buddha's begging-bowl and a painted icon."

(For further information on the shadow likeness, see the appendix).[14]

The Yün-kang caves, which were first excavated in this reign, are treated in the next entry.

6. For the first phase of the vast Yün-kang excavations, the Wei history provides a clear and believable explanation.[15] A certain monk T'an-yao, who succeeded to the post of Wei "archbishop" in 460, "had in the year following the restoration of Buddhism [i.e. 453] been commanded to proceed from Chung-shan [commandery, in Hopei] to the capital. He had chanced to meet the Emperor leaving the city, in the road; [at which one of] the imperial horses had stepped forward to take his robe in its teeth. It was held at the time that the horse had recognized how

[10] *Ibid.*, cxiv, p. 4r, v; cf. Ware *op. cit.*, pp. 135–137.
[11] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 5v; Ware, pp. 143–145; Tsukamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff. for a discussion of this reign.
[12] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, pp. 5v–6r.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 6r.
[14] See pp. 265 ff.
[15] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 6r.

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good a man he was, and the Emperor thereafter held him in high respect as a teacher.

"T'an-yao told the Emperor that in the pass of Wu-chou west of the capital the rock wall should be excavated so as to open up five caves, in each of which a Buddhist image should be carved. The largest was seventy feet high and the next largest sixty. The sculptured embellishments in their originality and great scale were unique in the world."

A variant version of the chapter on religions is preserved in the anthology *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, ii.[16] There we find additional information, "as told by those who have seen the place at the present time" (perhaps this is a note by Tao-hsüan himself, which has been incorporated in the text.) "On the east, in a valley thirty *li* in depth, is a monastery called Ling-yen, and at the west end is a nunnery. Both have shrines that can hold a thousand persons, excavated from the rock . . . For a space of seven *li* where the rock walls are most high and sheer, the Buddha shrines succeed each other in every available spot, though there are some breaks. The number of Buddhist images is beyond any counting. A certain cleric in his eightieth year, whose specialty was the worship of images, paid one act of reverence to every single statue until he reached the central shrine, and then died. His body, as it lay prostrate on the ground, was enclosed by stone; it is still visible today, [and will be] for countless ages. The site is three hundred *li* east of Shuo-chou and twenty or so west of Heng-an-chen. As those who have been there describe it, it must indeed be an unimaginably blessed work."

The life of T'an-yao given in Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies"[17] adds that "the largest cave-shrine attained a height of two hundred odd feet, and could hold three thousand persons. Elsewhere he hewed out images that reached the limits of cunning and beauty. The niches had such individual and unusual forms as to move both men and gods to wonder. They ran in rows one after another for thirty odd *li*."

Proof that the Yün-kang caves were in their day granted a special reverence even in south China is given by a work defining "the good life" written by the Southern Ch'i Prince of Ching-ling (460–494; see entry no. 5 under the Southern Ch'i). The paragraph in question lists a series of legendary or actual collections of the scriptures that it is meritorious to honor by worship, almost all being in India.[18] The exceptions are:

"The Mahāyāna collection in twelve parts in the Chü-ch'ü kingdom [of Northern Liang].

"The imperial Tripiṭaka in Shen-chou [i.e. China].

"The *sūtras* engraved on stone in I-chou and the *sūtras* and images of the rock-cut caves at Heng-an in Shuo-chou" [i.e. at Yün-Kang].

Another early description occurs in the sixth century gazetteer *Shui Ching Chu*.[19] "By the water's side are a stone 'Jetavana monastery' and the various cave chambers, as well as a place for the nuns. The river also turns eastward to run past the south face of Ling-yen. The rock has been excavated and the mountain opened up, and buildings have been constructed along the cliffs. With the giant forms of the True Likeness, it is a place unique by the standards of this world. With halls on the mountain and by the river, the haze-filled temples look toward each other. Groves and ponds are like a richly-worked mirror . . ."

The Wei annals record that imperial visits of inspection were made in the eighth months of 467 and 480, in the third month of 482, and in the fifth month of 483.[20]

7. Emperor Hsien Tsu, or Hsien Wen Ti (r. 466–471), is described in the Wei history as a still more devout believer, well acquainted with Bud-

[16] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 103c–104a.
[17] From i (*ibid.*, L, pp. 427c–428a).
[18] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 319a.
[19] III, xiii, p. 14.
[20] *Wei Shu*, vi, p. 2r; vii, 1, pp. 7r, 8r, v.

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dhist literature, and fond of inviting the *śramaṇas* to discuss points of philosophy with him. His first reign-era was called T'ien-an, to commemorate the supernatural visitor who six years earlier had attended a monks' convocation in the Sung capital (Sung entry 25): a fact that incidentally seems to indicate the willingness of the Wei Church to accept Southern leadership in matters spiritual. He left the throne not by death, as had his predecessors, but by abdication, to seek salvation (at the age of seventeen!) in a monastic retreat erected for him in the palace park.

Two complementary passages, in the Southern Ch'i and Wei histories, contribute not only important details but also a general sense of accelerating mastery of the arts.[21] The first is part of a general account of the Tartar regime and its works; written of course without sympathy, and in some respects undoubtedly colored to suit the prejudices of a Nanking audience, but as a whole valuable in offsetting the (equally biased) testimony of Northern court annalists. There is a lengthy description of the Wei capital at Tai or P'ing-ch'eng (the modern Ta-t'ung-fu in Shan-si), drawn presumably from eye-witness reports brought back by envoys from the Sung court. The bulk of the passage, dealing with the period of T'ai Wu Ti, the second quarter of the century, stresses a provincial backwardness that in some instances still bordered on "barbarism" (in the Chinese sense of the word). It is noted, for example, that the ladies of the harem occupied sod-roofed lodges; and that the Empress liked to make foraging expeditions to the state kitchens. In the succeeding reigns there was an advance toward greater formality and monumentality. Under Hsien Wen Ti the regime acquired an ancestral shrine hall that had a glazed tile roof, and the gate-houses in the palace *enceinte* came in time to be crowned with roofs, "though they still did not know how to build multi-storeyed towers [on them. The gates] were equipped with painted images of Vajra-bearing guardians, carved or of clay."

The Wei history tells a very different story, in emphasizing that this reign was marked by two outstanding feats of tower-building. The Emperor's new metropolitan temple, Yung-ning-ssu, was given in 467 a seven-storeyed wooden pagoda over three hundred Wei feet high (i. e. about 240 English feet), "spacious and lofty in basement and framing, foremost in the whole earth." Another pagoda erected in the five-year period, which reached a hundred Wei feet, was remarkable for being entirely of stone. All the usual architectural members throughout its three storeys were imitated in masonry. "For stability and ingenuity it was the finest sight in the capital." Finally "at T'ien-kung-ssu [the Emperor] had fashioned a standing image of Śākyamuni, forty-three feet tall, using 100,000 catties of copper and 600 catties of gold."

It seems to me most natural to explain the rapid technical and artistic advances of this period by an historic fact of major importance: the acquisition by the Tartar regime in 466 and 467 — chiefly by surrender, and so with relatively little bloodshed and destruction — of the whole northeast corner of the Sung domain, including centers of great cultural importance like Hsü-chou (see Chin entry 19, Sung entry 3). Chinese "collaborationists" from this area played a very important role in the subsequent cultural development of the Wei state. One of them, for example, a Shantung youth named Chiang Shao-yu who was carried off to the Northern capital after the conquest, became one of the outstanding architects there in the next reign.[22] He was responsible

[21] *Ibid.*, cxiv, p. 6v; cf. Ware's translation, pp. 148–149; and for the reign in general, Tsukamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 152ff. *Nan Ch'i Shu*, lvii, pp. 1v–2r.

[22] Biography in *Wei Shu*, xci, p. 12r, v. The Southern account of his arrival at Nanking appears in *Nan Ch'i Shu*, lvii, p. 4r. The uncle's protest ran something like: "It is inconceivable that such yokels, from a village of felt huts, should be allowed to imitate the celestial palace!" The Ch'i sovereign overruled him, on the grounds that the two states were at peace and should maintain courteous relations.

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not only for the design of individual buildings of first rank, but for the layout of a whole new palace and official city on more correct (i. e. more Chinese) lines. In carrying out this latter function he was first sent to the still ruinous Lo-yang, to survey the remains of the halls erected under the Wei kingdom and the Chin, two centuries earlier; and then in 491 took part in an embassy to the Southern Ch'i court, to find out all that he could about imperial Nanking (being, in the process, recognized and denounced by an irascible uncle who was serving as an advisor to the Ch'i sovereign). The discrepancy between the Southern and Northern accounts of tower-building under Hsien Wen Ti may perhaps be due to nothing more than cultural snobbery on one side and naive vainglory on the other. Another explanation might be that the Tartar armies were ordered to bring back to the capital, as quickly and in as good condition as possible, all craftsmen of superior skill from the newly assimilated provinces; and that all the available master-builders were first put to work on Buddhist commissions, before the secular architecture of the palace was similarly modernized. (The Southern envoys of the 460's and 470's, brought up under a system which expected the Emperor to be served before any other being, might well have found the informality of the Wei palace a more important fact than any achievement for merely religious purposes.)

If this hypothesis is valid, it may serve to explain equally well the forty-three foot gilded bronze statue of Śākyamuni: a sculptural feat without any known precedent in the North, which presumably became possible through the acquisition of bronze-workers trained under the Sung.

The early twelfth century critic- antiquarian Tung Yu speaks of a woven picture thirty feet wide and sixty high, belonging to a "Pure Land Temple," which bore an inscription identifying it as "an imperial Śākyamuni icon, woven in the eighth month of [470] for His Imperial Majesty Wen."[23]

8. In the reign of the passionately Sinophile Emperor Kao Tsu, or Hsiao Wen Ti (471–499) state patronage of Buddhism seems to have lapsed to a more moderate level. The Wei history dilates on the grand convocations held under his orders, and names the temples or pagodas that he built or visited; and the summary of imperial good works given at the end of *Fa Yüan Chu Lin* claims that he had an image made every month.[24] Much of this was accomplished in the first half of his reign, however, while he was still a boy (he came to the throne as a child of four), under regents who were continuing the practises of the preceding reign. An edict of his first years, quoted in the history, may very well have stemmed from the fervent piety of his father, who survived until 476 (and who in spite of his abdication continued to play an active role when his leadership was necessary). The proclamation runs:

"When faith is real, the divine response is far-reaching. When acts are performed with sincerity, their influence is profound. Many have been the mysterious portents that may be traced in earlier ages: there have been birds and beasts that changed their color, and grasses and trees that acquired novel characteristics. [Now comes the news that] in Tung-p'ing commandery in Chi-chou [Shantung], a miracle-working image has been emitting light, and has changed its color to that of gilded bronze. This is an extraordinary phenomenon, beyond anything in the past; glorious for the wondrous Dharma and its principles in our own time. The authorities concerned and the Director of *Śramaṇas*, T'an-yao, are to see that the province dispatches this image to the capital, so that clerics and laity alike may gaze on the likeness of Absolute Reality; and a general

[23] From his *Kuang Ch'üan Hua Po*, v, section dealing with 'Li Ting-fang's Woven Buddha."

[24] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 6vff.; Ware's translation, pp. 149ff.; *Fa Yüan CL*, c (*Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 1026a).

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proclamation shall be made throughout the empire so that all may hear and know."

It should be noted that this remarkable statue, like the two wonder-working images at Hsü-chou whose powers also impressed the Wei (Chin entry 19, Sung entry 3) originated in a region that only a few years earlier had formed part of the Sung domain.

Counterbalancing the signs of imperial favor cited in the Wei history are others that show a revival of distrust; the Church was growing too rapidly, was too loosely organized, and had already too much power to fit comfortably into the governmental system. A census taken in 476 reveals the numerical aspect of the situation. At the capital there were more than a hundred religious establishments, housing some two thousand monks and nuns; while in the empire as a whole the figures had mounted to 6,478 and 77,258 respectively.

Kao Tsu reached maturity as a devotee of Confucian idealism, consumed by an ambition to reunite the Chinese realm, and to rule "the world" like a modern Yao or Shun, through the power of goodness and cultural superiority. His recorded acts and words reveal an almost complete preoccupation with secular problems; primarily with the formidable task of transforming his state, his subjects, and their man-made environment to conform with the traditional Chinese patterns. He studied with an intense enthusiasm the proper costuming and behaviour of his courtiers, and the rebuilding of his palace on more splendid and more correct lines, rather than the equipment of Buddhist temples; he gave with imperial lavishness to the populations of districts ravaged by famine, or to the aged and infirm that he met on his journeys, rather than to *śramaṇas*. He must have worshipped with a painful longing not before the Buddha but at the Altar of Heaven, or in the portentous shadows of the Ming T'ang.

If the records suggest that Kao Tsu's support of the Buddhist Church was perfunctory, they make it clear that his decision to move his capital southward to the traditional site of Lo-yang brought an end to the major achievement of Buddhist art in his lifetime, the sculptural embellishment of the cave shrines at Yün-kang. A great deal of important work was carried on there during his reign, and a virtually new figure style, of great historic importance, was developed. The bulk of this sculpture must have been due to a wide extension of patronage throughout the gentry class in the capital region, rather than to state funds. Much of it is small in scale; the signs of late workmanship in the original five colossal caves, which must still have been supported by the Throne, probably testify only to Kao Tsu's sense of filial responsibility. (His recorded visits to the site occured between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, while he was still under the tutelage of the redoubtable Dowager Empress who had been the consort of the caves' founder, Lady Feng.) The transfer of the capital in 495 entailed the mass migration of a great part of its population; doubtless most of the propertied and officeholding class left for the south with the court. As an incidental result, Yün-kang was left virtually without patronage. The old capital region receded thereafter deeper and deeper into a penumbra of neglect, until its very safety was jeopardized; a quarter century later marauders were able to break through the weak frontier defenses and desecrate even the imperial mausolea, At the same time the transfer had of course the positive result of stimulating cave excavations in the vicinity of the new metropolis, at Lung-men (for which see entry 11).

9. One of the outstanding patrons of Buddhism during the last decades at P'ing-ch'eng was Feng Hsi (d. 495), Grand Marshal and Prince of Ch'ang-li, the then head of a presumably Chinese clan which had been able to survive in Hopei through many generations of barbarian rule. (Hsi's own position was built up by marriages with the imperial house: his sister, the dowager

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who served as *de facto* regent during the first half of Kao Tsu's reign, had been the first Empress of Wen Ch'eng Ti, and two of his daughters became the second and third of Kao Tsu's consorts.) His biography in the Wei history tells that he used his personal funds to erect provincial pagoda-temples in a total of seventy-two places.[25] The gazetteer *Shui Ching Chu* briefly describes, among the memorable sights around the capital, a "Temple of the Imperial Uncle", Huang- chiu-ssu, which had "a five-storeyed pagoda, in which the divine figures represented were all of blue-green stone."[26]

The same source continues to tell of another temple that owned "a three-storeyed pagoda, where the True Countenance and the Vulture's Perch [i. e. Śākyamuni on the Vulture Peak] were all fashioned of joined stones; in the style of decoration and the beauty of the materials, the ultimate in excellence was achieved. Beyond the eastern suburb was a 'Jetavana Monastery' that had been erected in the T'ai-ho era [477–499] by a court eunuch, the Duke of Tang-ch'ang, Ch'ien-erh Ch'ing-shih. From the rafters, tiles, beams, and purlins, and the platform, walls, railing, and steps, to the Holy Countenance and the saintly images [about it?], and even the throne, canopy, and curtains, all was of blue stone."[26]

The duke here mentioned probably served also as architect for his monastery; his biography tells that he was Master-builder to the Crown, and lists a number of major commisions with which he was credited.[27] One of these was the mausoleum of his patroness, the Grand Empress Dowager Wen Ming, (i. e. Lady Feng), on Mount Fang, completed in 485. The buildings there, though doubtless on a much larger scale, must have given much the same sort of effect as at the monastery. All the architectural details were executed in marble, except that "for the four pillars at the front of the eaves a black stone was chosen, from the Valley of the Eight Winds at Lo-yang. These were carved in relief, and had inlays of gold and silver in cloud patterns that gave them the effect of brocade... There were screens of blue stone, bordered with marble, on which were carved in relief the likenesses of [the paragons of] loyalty and filial piety."

10. A Sui stele of 585 in Ting-hsien, Hopei, records the restoration of a thirty-eight foot gilded image of Maitreya that had been first completed in 492 by the then abbot of the local "Temple of the Seven Wei Emperors."[28] The colossus had been demolished in 577 during the Northern Chou persecution, and was restored or remade when the Sui coup d'etat brought the Church once more into favor. The stele tells that the head and hands were done in 580, and the body and limbs raised in 585. For it were employed 17,500 catties of cloth, 1100 pints, *sheng*, of lacquer, and 87,000 sheets of gold leaf. The total cost for the statue and its restored hall was 5,700,000 cash. I assume that the original bronze statue was badly damaged, perhaps partly melted down in the burning of its temple; and that what remained was employed as a metal core, on which to mould a new exterior of lacquer. This same procedure seems to have been followed in restoring the clay figures of Chin entry 7.

11. In its account of Buddhist and Taoism, the Wei history provides a note on the imperial excavations carried out at the new cave site of Lung-

[25] *Wei Shu*, lxxxiii, 1, pp. 4rff., for Hsi; *ibid.*, xiii, pp. 3v–4v for the Dowager, and 5r, v for the sister Queens.

[26] III, xiii, p. 11–13.

[27] Biography in *Wei Shu*, xciv, p. 6r, v, under his proper name Wang Yü (Ch'ing-shih was his *tzu*, Ch'ien-erh the Chinese transcription of his Tangut family name). For the mausoleum on Mount Fang, see A. Wenley, "The Grand Empress Dowager Wen Ming and the Northern Wei Necropolis at Fang Shan," *Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers*, I, 1, 1947.

[28] I owe this reference to Kenneth Ch'en's "The Hui-ch'ang Suppression of Buddhism," *Harvard Jour. of As. Stud.*, XIX, 1–2, 1956, pp. 87–88. His source is Tsukamoto, *Nishi Bukkyō Kōshō-shi Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1944, pp. 7–8, 43. For a discussion of gilding, see the chapter on Materials and Sizes below.

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men, along the defile of the I River south of Lo-yang.[29]

"At the outset of the Ching-ming era [500–503], Shih Tsung commanded the Lord Chief Justice, Pai Cheng,[30] to have two caves made in the rock of Mount I-chüeh south of Lo-yang, on behalf of [his parents] Kao Tsu and the Dowager Empress Wen Chao; taking as a model the rock-cut caves of Ling-yen-ssu [i. e. Yün-kang] at the former capital. At the outset it was planned that these caves' summits should reach 310 feet from the ground. In [505] excavation of the mountain was begun at [a height of] 230 feet. Then the Lord Chief Justice Wang Chih[31] stated that excavation at so extreme a height would be wasteful of labor and difficult to complete. He presented a memorial asking for a transfer to a lower [site], and for a flatter [scheme] that would rise 100 feet from the ground; the north-south [dimension] to be 140 feet.[32] During the Yung-p'ing era [508–511] the Prefect of the Center, Liu T'eng,[33] presented a memorial suggesting that an additional cave be constructed on behalf of Shih Tsung [r. 500–515], making three in all. From the first year of Ching-ming [500] to the sixth month of the fourth year of Cheng-kuang [523], exclusively, 802,366 work-days were expended."

The identity of the three imperial cave-shrines at Lung-men has long puzzled archaeologists. No group as outstanding in size and design as the imperial five at Yün-kang has been preserved; and though the Lung-men inscriptions are numerous, none sheds any light on this central problem. The only trio, adjoining and similar in scale, are the three Pin-yang caves, numbering 2, 3, and 4 at the northern end of the series. Among the Japanese, Ōmura, Mizuno, and Nagahiro favor this identification[34] (which assumes at the start that the Toba effort at Lung-men was much less strenuous than at Yün-kang; the Big Five there are about the same in depth, but considerably wider and a great deal higher). Their theory runs into the objection that the images in caves 2 and 4 have a Sui or early T'ang look, and that cave 3 has outside its entrance an inscription dated 641, recording the benefactions of a T'ang Prince of the blood. All of this they explain away by assuming that 2 and 4 were left unfinished, through a slackening of imperial interest, until the next century, to be completed by the T'ang Prince. Tokiwa and Sekino suppose that the middle Pin-yang cave, which preserves a highly individual Wei design, is the one that was excavated as an afterthought, on behalf of Shih Tsung.[35] The original two they hold were destroyed in the late seventh century, when the huge imperial T'ang cave (no. 19, or Feng-hsien-ssu) was made by appropriating and enlarging their sites. (Mizuno and Nagahiro argue that the T'ang cave destroyed instead the traces of the initial Toba excavation, at 230 feet from the ground.)

Chavannes believed that the cave dedicated to Kao Tsu must have been the one now known as no. 21, Ku-yang (or as he prefers, "Lao kiun", or X), since the latter's multitude of images include two whose inscriptions tell that they were made on that ruler's behalf. The other two must have been his M (no. 17 or Wei Tzu, "the cave with the Wei inscription") and his S (no. 13 or Lien-hua, "the cave with the lotus").[36] His theory

[29] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 8v; Ware translation, pp. 165–166.

[30] Biography in *Wei Shu*, xciv, p. 7r, v.

[31] Biography in *ibid.*, xciv, p. 7r.

[32] Ware's translation, p. 166, runs: "He presented a memorial asking that [the height] be lowered to one hundred feet from the ground, and that in a north and south direction [they should extend] for 140 feet." My version follows that preferred by Mizuno and Nagahiro in their monograph on the caves, *Ryūmon Sekkutsu no Kenkyū*, Tōkyō, 1941, p. 126 (in the Japanese text, p. 12 in the English summary); and involves the assumption that the abandoned excavation was completed under the T'ang, becoming the one truly colossal cave at Lung-men, Feng-hsien-ssu.

[33] 464–523; biography in *Wei Shu*, xciv, pp. 7v–8r. Became one of the members of the court cabal who imprisoned the Dowager Empress Ling from 520 to 525, and ruled through her infant son; see Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1193–1194, 1199.

[34] *Ryūmon*, pp. 126–127; Ōmura, pp. 220–221.

[35] *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, II, pp. 68–69.

[36] *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1915, I, 2, pp. 538–540.

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disregarded the central Pin-yang cave because he interpreted the inscription of 641 outside its entrance as proof of its construction at that time.

Other archaeologists, accepting the Pin-yang shrine as the authentic Wei product that its style requires, have formed still another trio with it, no. 13 and no. 21. Both Chavannes' theory and this alternative run into the objection that the caves chosen are widely separated (whereas the Big Five at Yün-kang are adjacent). No. 21, Ku-yang, would seem to be disqualified for two additional reasons. It is certainly a very early work, if not the earliest, at Lung-men; a number of its inscriptions fall in the period 495–499.[37] This very fact, however, speaks against its being an imperial dedication, for the inscriptions are extremely heterogeneous in placing and in what they refer to (whereas each of the Big Five is highly unified and consistent). It seems to me much more likely that the cave was opened and sculptured by some sort of loose association of individual donors, who retained enough freedom of choice to give the final product great variety. In addition, there is no sign that Ku-yang's summit was ever planned to reach 310 feet, or 230 feet, as the history of Lung-men would require.

The Wei annals record imperial visits to Lung-men in 504, 517, and 526.[38]

12. Our best evidence for the look of the metropolitan temples erected after the move south to Lo-yang is given in a mid sixth century work dedicated to their splendor and beauty, the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, by Yang Hsüan-chih.[39] It is clear that in architecture and decoration the standard followed was now the great mansion or palace. The majority of the establishments listed in Yang's description had been donated by members of the imperial family, if not by the rulers themselves. Hsiao Wen Ti, who died soon after he had made Lo-yang his capital, had time to build only one; but his son Hsüan Wu Ti (i. e. Shih Tsung) was credited with three, and so was the latter's widow, the fabulously extravagant Empress Dowager Ling. In many cases the temple had begun its career as a Prince's house, and was surrendered with its gardens and pleasure-towers, as a gesture of lordly piety or prudence. The greatest one of all, the Empress Ling's Yung-ning-ssu, seems to have been modelled in size and form on the imperial palace itself. In this one magnificent generation, in the heart of the ancient Chinese home-land, the Toba lords squandered their way down the road to ruin that Chinese moralists had so often described before them: building, decorating, laying out great gardens with artificial lakes and hills, amassing huge households, employing troupes of musicians and dancers and acrobats, collecting expensive curios and fine horses, dining and drinking and wenching – and in the process, supporting Buddhist monasteries with the same recklessness that they showed everywhere else. In all this it seems clear not only that the standard of expenditure was much higher than it had been during the preceding century, when the capital lay on the Mongolian border, but also that the results were much more thoroughly Chinese. While still at Ta-t'ung Hsiao Wen Ti had taken the drastic step of commanding his Tartar subjects to transform themselves into the likeness of Chinese. His move south was the key to the whole pattern of racial assimilation (or suicide); the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, notes in passing that one of his chief confidants in the late 490's was a refugee scholar from Southern Ch'i, Wang Su, whose wide knowledge of the past made him a valuable adviser in laying out the restored Lo-yang.[40] The reliefs at Lung-men are much more purely Chinese in style and repertory of

[37] *Ryūmon*, p. 105.

[38] *Wei Shu*, viii, p. 3v; ix, p. 3r, 10v.

[39] *Daizōkyō*, LI, no. 2092, pp. 999ff.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 1011b, mentioned in relation to the temple that he founded south of the city, Cheng-chüeh-ssu. Wang (464 to 501) was the son of a Southern Ch'i, provincial Governor, and had served the Nanking regime as Assistant Director in the Privy Library. He fled northward in 493 or 494, after his father and brothers had been executed in one of the proscriptions that marked the disintegration

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motifs used than those at Yün-kang; and a similar intensification of Chinese character may be assumed for the lost images to be mentioned below.

The greatest establishment outside Lo-yang to the south was Ching-ming-ssu, so-called because it had been erected by Hsüan Wu Ti (r. 500–515) in the Ching-ming era (500–503). The description lingers over the beauty of its hillside site, the size and splendor of its buildings, the impressiveness of the giant seven-storeyed pagoda added by Empress Ling in the early 520's, and the special loveliness of its three lakes.[41]

"On the seventh day of the fourth month all the various images of the capital would be brought to this temple... to the number of a thousand or more statues. In the eighth day's ceremonies [for the Buddha's birthday], they would be taken in succession through the Hsüan-yang Gate [the central south gate of the city] to the front of the palace, to be received by the Emperor scattering flowers. Then would golden blossoms reflect the sunlight, and jewelled parasols float like clouds. There would be forests of banners and pennons, and incense [would gather] like haze. The sounds of Indian music and chanting voices would move heaven and earth, while every sort of diverting spectacle was carried on. On hand would be numerous famous priests, and virtuous monks with their staffs would come in crowds; while the number would be completed by lay believers and followers bearing flowers. Carriages and riders would be like rocks in the streams of people that poured out together. A foreign *śramaṇa* from the West who once saw [this spectacle] called out that it was a very Buddha Paradise."

In the account given of the Chao-i nunnery, erected by the corps of palace eunuchs, we read further that "this temple possessed a Buddha with two Bodhisattvas, clay sculptures done with an extreme of finesse unmatched anywhere else in the capital. On the seventh day of the fourth month these were always taken out to visit Ching-ming-[ssu], where they would be welcomed by the Ching-ming Trinity."[42]

13. According to the Wei history, in 510 "a sixteen-foot image of *min-yü* stone was fashioned on Mount Ching in Heng-nung (in Honan) and was taken to the capital to be welcomed into Pao-te-ssu [the one temple founded by Hsiao Wen Ti]; where Shih Tsung [i. e. Hsüan Wu Ti] inspected it and paid reverence in person."[43]

14. The *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, ii, says of the great temple P'ing-teng-ssu, east of the city, that its founder was "Prince Wu-mu of Kuang-p'ing, [Yüan] Huai, [a younger brother of Hsüan Wu Ti], who relinquished a mansion to establish it...[44] Its buildings were huge and beautiful, its groves still and dense. Its flat terraces and bridge galleries were uniquely celebrated in its day. Outside the temple gate was a gilded figure twenty-eight feet high, majestic in its body-signs, which continually exhibited divine manifestations. The good or evil fortune of the realm would be foreshadowed by its portents. In the twelfth month of (527) the image's face bore a look of compassion, and tears poured from its eyes until its whole body was wet. People at the time spoke of this as the 'Buddha-washing'. The gentlefolk of the capital emptied the city to come and see it. A monk would wipe away the tears

of Ch'i morale. The Wei sovereign, moving south at the beginning of his abortive invasion, heard of his presence, interviewed him, and was captivated by his ability to converse with equal learning and elegance about statecraft and the theory of rhyming. Wang was used as a general against the Ch'i armies, and on the death of his patron was promoted to the regency council as a high minister. Biographies on *Wei Shu*, lxiii, pp. 1rff., and in *Pei Shih*, xlii; Giles' no. 2228.

41 *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1010a, b (from iii).

42 *Ibid.*, p. 1003b (from i).

43 *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 8r. Ware's translation, p. 160, renders *min-yü* as "serpentine."

44 *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1007b, c. The Prince's biography is given in *Wei Shu*, xxii, p. 3v, in a very fragmentary state.

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with a clean napkin, but in a little while the cloth would be soaked through. When it was used up, they would substitute another to wipe with; and then all at once that too would be soaked. This continued for three days before it ceased. In the second month of [528], in consequence, Erh-chu Yung entered Lo-yang and slaughtered the officials, until the ground was hidden under the dead.[45] In the second month of [529] the image once more sweated, and again gentry and commoners from the capital and outlying towns came to watch it. In the fifth month the Prince of Pei-hai entered Lo and the Emperor Chuang left for the north.[46] In the seventh month Pei-hai suffered a great defeat, and five thousand or more of his followers, boys from Chiang and Huai, were all taken prisoner; not one got home again. In the seventh month of [530] the image wept from pity as it had in the beginning. So often did its divine manifestations occur, by night or day, that they grew afraid and forbade people to look at it. In the twelfth month Erh-chu Chao entered Lo-yang and arrested the Emperor Chuang, who died in Chin-yang.[47] At the capital the palace halls lay empty and masterless for a hundred days." (The account pursues the bloody disintegration of the Northern Wei in great detail thereafter).

The chapter devoted to omens in the Wei history speaks of several occasions on which the gilded image of Dipaṃkara wept, thereby identifying the P'ing-teng-ssu statue for us.[48]

The *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi* continues to tell that in 532 the original donor's son, "the Prince of P'ing-yang, coming in as a rebel...[49] began the erection of a five-storeyed pagoda... On the fifth day of the second month of [534] the construction was completed. The Emperor assembled his officials and held a convocation for ten thousand priests. On that day a stone image that stood outside the temple gate for no reason moved of itself, bowing and then raising its head until the end of the day. The Emperor came in person to worship it, amazed at the strangeness [of the thing]. A secretary to the Grand Secretariat, Lu Ching-hsüan, said: 'Since High Antiquity stones have been set up and shrines have transmitted influences. Why should His Majesty be surprised?' The Emperor then returned to the palace; but in the seventh month the courtier Hu

45 For this period see Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1203–1205. The rebel general (who seems to have drawn support not only from a general weariness with the extravagance and irresponsibility of the court, but also from a powerful reaction of the "barbarian" elements in the Wei state against the favor that had been shown for a generation to the Chinese element and its culture) broke through the demoralized imperial defenses, murdered the Dowager Empress Ling and the baby she had just installed as a puppet ruler, and slaughtered virtually all her court officials, to the number of 2000 or more. He set up, as a puppet of his own, the imperial Prince Yüan Tzu-yu, a grandson of Kao Tsu (who reigned as Chuang Ti until the spring of 530, when he rashly had Jung murdered in turn, and was in consequence done away with by the Erh-chu family).

46 This was Yuan Hao, another grandson of Kao Tsu (biography in *Wei Shu*, xxi, 1, pp. 14r, v). He escaped the general massacre at Lo-yang by a flight southward into the Liang domain. Wu Ti welcomed him warmly, gave him the title of Prince of Wei, and loaned him a Southern army with which he was able to force his way back to Lo-yang, and drive his cousin, Chuang Ti, into temporary flight. See H. Cordier, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, Paris, 1920, I, p. 352. His too-easy triumph tempted him to reckless dissipation, while his Southern soldiers grew demoralized. Within two months the Erh-chu family defeated and killed him, and reinstalled their puppet.

47 Wieger, *op. cit.*, p. 1207. As noted above, the Emperor had succeeded, by trickery, in getting rid of Jung, but the family's vengeance soon overwhelmed him. Chin-yang was the Erh-chu headquarters (in Shansi, modern T'ai-yüan-fu). When they too were overthrown in 532 by the defection of their ablest general, Kao Huan, the latter took the place for his own; it became the stronghold from which he watched and manipulated *his* puppet at Yeh in Honan, the Eastern Wei emperor Hsiao Ching. When his son seized the throne in 550 and set up the Northern Ch'i regime, it remained a favorite alternative residence for the new ruling house.

48 *Wei Shu*, cxii, 1, p. 12v.

49 This was Yuan Hsiu, another grandson of Kao Tsu, who was Kao Huan's first candidate for the Wei throne after his defeat of the Erh-chu faction in 532. Two years later he fled to Ch'ang-an to escape from Kao's clutches; and there was soon poisoned by a new master, Yü-wen T'ai, who thereafter made himself king-maker for a rival, Western Wei, regime. Biography and annals in *Wei Shu*, xi, pp. 4vff., under the contemptuous title Ch'u Ti, "the emperor who ran away." See Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1209, and Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

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Ch'i-ch'un forced him to flee to Ch'ang-an.[50] In the tenth month all was finished when the capital was transferred to Yeh."

15. The Wei history, toward the end of its account of the fortunes of Buddhism under Kao Tsu (i. e. Hsiao Wen Ti), mentions the arrival from the West of the missionary "Pa-t'o", who won the ruler's profound respect and had erected for his residence "Shao-lin-ssu on the north side of Mount Shao-shih" (i. e. Mount Sung, north of Teng-feng-hsien in Honan). The missionary's career is outlined in Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies," where he is called "Fo-t'o the Dhyāna Master"; probably his full name was Buddhabhadra.[51] At the end we read that "in his declining years he grew ill at ease in the company of the monks . . . and so moved outside the monastery to a hermitage all by itself. He used to sense that a benevolent deity was continually following his shadow, guarding him; so he had food set out, and offered worship to it. Later it informed him that his end was near; whereupon with his own hand he painted its image on the wall by his doorway. The figure is still in existence." See also Liang entry 28.

One may note in passing the similarity between this anecdote and that told of Dharmamitra a century or so earlier. There the benevolent guardian deity had been named Kapila; we have seen in an edict of Liang Wu Ti reference to the fact that that god was worshipped with deer's heads and the flesh of sheep (see my entries nos. 14 and 9 under the Sung and Liang respectively).

A long stele record dated 745, still in existence at Shao-lin-ssu,[52] states that "inside the P'u-kuang Hall there were a Buddha with two Bodhisattvas, plus Kāśyapa and Ānanda; while outside the gate there were two Vajra-[bearers], two Devarājas, and two lions. In the city one rarely hears any talk of the doctor named Li Ya; but it was he who in the Yung-p'ing era (508–511) fashioned this holy image, a wonder seldom matched; the effigies of the Bodhisattvas, whose like could never be found again; and Ānanda and Kāśyapa with their reverent expressions and their hands devoutly pressed together, they too of a sort seldom found. As for the two Vajra-[bearers] outside the gate, birds never [settle on them? Two characters are effaced] . . . strange manifestations have been frequently observed. As for the lions, when their effigies are first seen, the one angry and the other joyful, they seem beyond the cunning of the most skilled painter to depict. The two lions' attendants . . . [three characters effaced] . . . a good work beyond imagining."

The beginning of the stele makes clear why this tradition was thought worth recording. In 692, during the reign of the usurper-Empress Wu, the Devarājas, the lions, and the attendants were brought to the palace for her to worship. It is noted parenthetically that the Devarāja figures were of clay and painted; and that the Empress had them replaced by gilded statues of dry lacquer. The stele quotes the petition by which the Shao-lin-ssu prior asked for their return, and the imperial document ordering them to be sent back.

This is our first introduction, via textual evidence, to the sort of iconographic group that is frequently found in miniature on sixth century stelae. (The five central figures appear at the beginning of the century with something like the effect they must have had at Shao-lin-ssu, in the stone sculptures of the Pin-yang cave at

[50] Biography in *Wei Shu*, lxxx, pp. 2v–3v, and in *Pei Shih*, xlix, p. 2r, c. An adventurer from Chinese Turkestan, who made his fortune by serving and then betraying the Erh-chu clan. Mistrusting the generosity of his fellow-traitor Kao Huan, he persuaded Ch'u Ti to flee to what seemed a safe distance. He died soon after at Ch'ang-an, and as one of the pillars of the new dynasty was loaded with posthumous honors, including the courtesy title of Prince.

[51] *Wei Shu*, cxiv, p. 7v.; Ware's translation, pp. 155–156; and *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 551a, b (from *Hsü KSC*, xvi). For the temple, see Tokiwa and Sekino, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 134ff., and especially the T'ang stele of 728 quoted on pp. 136ff.

[52] Quoted by Ōmura, pp. 437–439.

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Lung-men).[53] The nuclear combination is an interesting one, and since it is required by no important scriptural authority has been explained as a Chinese invention, designed to reconcile the differences of Mahāyāna — represented by the two Bodhisattvas — and Hīnayāna — represented by the two monk disciples. We meet here also for the first time the contrasted lions that are a familiar feature of Wei pedestals.

16. The *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, i, tells of one of the temples inside the city, Ch'ang-ch'iu-ssu, that it was so called because its founder, the all-powerful minister Liu T'eng (463–522), had once been the district magistrate of Ch'ang-ch'iu (in Shansi).[54] "It lay inside the Hsi-yang Gate (the central gate on the west), one *li* north of the Imperial Avenue... Within it was a three-storeyed pagoda, whose gilded disks and wonder-working mast shed light over the whole city. There was a six-tusked white elephant, bearing Śākyamuni through the air. The decorations and ritual paraphernalia were all of gold or jade; the originality of the workmanship would be difficult to describe. On the fourth day of the fourth month this image was always brought out, preceded by *p'i-hsieh* monsters and lions. Sword-swallowers and fire spitters would prance everywhere; the pennants and streamers tied overhead were exceptionally ingenious. For strange arts and odd costumes there was nothing else comparable in the whole city. When the image would stop, the onlookers would block the way, trampling on each other until someone was usually killed."

17. The minor temple Hsiu-fan-ssu in the southeast of the city, in addition to its "sculptured walls and lofty fanes... had a Vajra-[bearer that kept] pigeons from entering and sparrows from roosting. Bodhidharma said that [in it the god's] true likeness had been caught."[55]

18. Outside the northeast corner of the city was a group of ten minor temples erected by monks and pious commoners.[56] One of them, "Tsung-sheng-ssu, possessed an image thirty-eight feet high that was exceptionally majestic. So perfect were its body signs that when gentlefolk or commonrs looked up at it reverently, their eyes were quickly dazzled. On one occasion it walked out into the marketplace, to the well, while all the sky flamed and shone a fiery red: a thing unique among the phenomena of this world. The remarkable arts and different kinds of music to be found here were inferior only to Liu T'eng's, so that the gentlefolk from the east side of the city often came to this temple to watch them."

"A priest of Ch'ung-chen-ssu, one Hui-ning, once died and came back to life again after seven days, having undergone King Yama's inspection and being freed because of an error in names. He told everything that [he had learned]. There were five monks who were examined together. One, who said he was Chih-sheng of Pao-ming-ssu, had practised meditation and austerities, and so was permitted to ascend to the halls of Heaven. A second, a certain Tao-p'in of the 'Prajña Temple,' Po-jo-ssu, who had recited the four *prajñās* also went to Heaven. A third, T'an-mo of Yung-chüeh-ssu, had been a great lecturer on the *Nirvāṇa* and *Avatamsaka Sūtras*, and had commanded a following of a thousand persons. To him King Yama said:

'One who lectures on the *sūtras* is always

[53] Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Ryūmon*, pp. 13 ff.; Chavannes, *Mission*, pls. CLXV, CLXVIII.

[54] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1002c. For the eunuch Liu, see note 33. The "evil-averter," *p'i-hsieh*, was a fabulous, apotropaic monster often represented in early art.

[55] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1004a (from i); another reference in the same text to Bodhidharma will be found in Wei entry 24, p. 111. For two recent summations of the confusing evidence regarding the Ch'an patriarch, see H. Chapin, "Three Early Portraits of Bodhidharma," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, I, 1945–1946, pp. 66 ff.; and L. Lanciotti, "New Historic Contribution to the Person of Bodhidharma," *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 1–2, 1949, pp. 141 ff. (a paper weakened by inexpert translations).

[56] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1005b (from ii).

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aware of the difference between everyone else and himself. His pride makes him insulting to others. For a monk, this is the most vulgar sort of activity. Today we examine only meditators and reciters, and do not ask for lecturers. This T'an-mo has the best of all reasons for being called a poor priest. Ever since he established himself in life he has cared for nothing but lecturing on the *sūtras;* most certainly there is no meditative darkness and no reciting in him.'

"King Yama gave orders to his subordinates, and ten fellows dressed in blue led T'an-mo off to a building by the northwest gate. Everything was strange there, and it didn't look like an agreeable place.

"The fourth monk said he was Tao-hung from Ch'an-lin-ssu. By his teaching he had won donors among the four grades [of clerics and lay disciples], and had had the Tripiṭaka [copied] and ten images of [Buddhas]-in-the-flesh made. King Yama said to him:

'One who is a monk must without exception concentrate his mind and keep to the Way. His purpose in life should lie in meditation and reciting, not in the things of this world. He should not do things that are active. Supposing that he has *sūtras* and images made; his real desire is to get hold of other people's property. When he has got someone else's goods, a covetous heart will rise in him; and when one harbors a covetous heart, then he cannot escape the Three Evil Paths.'

When he had finished, in his anger he had his subordinates take [the monk] to the very same black gateway as T'an-mo.

"Then there came a monk who said that he was Pao-ming from Ling-chüeh-ssu. He told that before he had taken holy orders he had once been Military Governor of Shensi, and had had Ling-chüeh-ssu built. When it was completed he gave up his office for the Eight-fold Path. Although he was not a meditator or reciter, he had never been remiss in worship. King Yama said to him:

'My good sir, in the days when you were a military governor you perverted right principles and oppressed the Dharma. You despoiled the people of their goods; and if you did build that temple, it was not with your own strength, sir, so why should you boast of it?'

"That man too he had led off by his blue-gowned subordinates, through the black gateway.

"The Dowager Empress heard of this [story], and so despatched a secretary to the corps of court eunuchs, one Hsü Ho, to check on what Hui-ning had told. He visited Pao-ming-ssu, which is on the east side of the city; Po-jo-ssu, which is inside the city; and three temples in the west side of the city, Yung-chüeh, Ch'an-lin, and Ling-chüeh. He inquired and learned that Chih-sheng, Tao-p'in, T'an-mo, Tao-hung, and Pao-ming had actually been there. His comment was that a man's death brings either punishment or bliss; and he petitioned that a hundred monks seated in meditation be always present in [the palace] halls, and that offerings be made to them. An edict was promulgated, withdrawing permission for *sūtra* and image-[making to be financed] by roadside begging for funds; only those who had resources of their own with which to carry out such projects might do as they wished.

"[Hui]-ning went to live as a hermit on White Deer Mountain, and pursued the path of salvation; From that time on the monks of the capital all meditated or recited, and no longer took any interest in lecturing on the scriptures."

19. "Ching-lin-ssu lay inside the K'ai-yang Gate [the easternmost on the south front], east of the Imperial Avenue.[57] Its lecture hall was high-piled, its dormitories and corridors were linked; red railings were dazzling in the sunshine, ornamented rafters welcomed the breezes; truly there was a beauty-spot. West of the temple was a garden with an abundance of rare fruit-[trees].

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 1004a (from i).

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The singing of birds and the shrilling of cicadas followed each other, through springtime and autumn. In it there was a meditation chamber, within which was installed a model of the Jetavana Vihāra, which though carried out at small scale was constructed with a well-nigh indescribable cunning."

20. In the western subirds lay "Fa-yün-ssu, which was founded by a foreign *śramaṇa* from Udyāna in the West, 'Seng Ma-lo' (i.e. Brother Mara)[58] ...[A eulogy of his intelligence, profound knowledge of Buddhism, and remarkable aptitude in spoken and written Chinese follows] He made a 'Jetavana Vihāra' there that was most refined in workmanship. The Buddha hall and the monks' dormitories were all plastered white; [everywhere] was the brilliance of red and white and the sparkle of gilding and jade color. He made a replica of the True Visage as its sixteen feet had been displayed in the Deer Park [at Benares], as divinely radiant and heroically beautiful as if it were [really] the Adamantine [Body] under the twin trees. Within the monastery flowers and fruits grew in profusion, while scented grasses and vines added to one's pleasure, and trees overarched the courtyards. The *śramaṇas* of the capital and devotees of the Western religion all went to Mara to receive and [swear to] keep the commandments ... The world had not his like for secret spells and divine miracles. He could put a spell on a dead tree that would make it send out new twigs and leaves, or turn men by enchantment into horses and donkeys, in the most delightful way possible. The relics, bones or Buddha's teeth, and the *sūtras* and images sent from the West were all deposited in this temple."

21. Also in the western suburbs was to be found another former mansion of the Prince of Kuang-p'ing, which had been turned into a temple under the title Ta-chüeh-ssu.[59] The site afforded magnificent views in all directions. "Inside the hall were installed the Seven Buddhas; the groves, pools, and flying galleries were comparable to those at Ching-ming-ssu..."

22. Another younger brother of Hsüan Wu Ti, Yüan "I, Prince Wen-hsien of Ch'ing-ho, established Ching-lo-ssu [inside the city, south of the palace and west of the Imperial Avenue].[60] It had a Buddha hall with an image-cart that was carved with a cunning unmatched in that generation. There were encircling galleries and linked dormitories that ran around corners; light twigs brushed the doors and blossoms overspread the courtyards. On great feast days they always provided girl musicians. The singing voices would play among the beams, while the dancers' sleeves slowly turned this way and that, and strings and pipes sounded clear, in harmonies so perfect that they partook of the divine. Since this was a nunnery, men were not allowed to enter; but those who were permitted to visit it and watch found it like the halls of Paradise. After the death of Prince Wen-hsien, the prohibition was somewhat relaxed, and people were able to get inside without any more difficulties."

23. The Ching-hsing nunnery east of the city was another that had been dedicated by the palace eunuchs.[61] "It owned a gilded image-cart three feet high, with a jewelled canopy. From the four sides [of the latter] were suspended gilded bells and jewels of all sorts, and flying angels making music, so that the onlooker [might

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 1015a (from iv). In my *Oriental Art* paper (see Introduction, note 1), pp. 28–29, this section was erroneously placed under the third century Wei kingdom, as had been done previously by Ōmura, p. 116.

[59] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1017b (from iv).

[60] *Ibid.*, p.,1003a, b (from i). The Prince's biography is in *Wei Shu*, xxii, pp. 2v–3r. He became a favorite of the Dowager Empress Ling in 520, and so fell victim to the coup d'état led by Liu T'eng and his cousin Yuan Ch'a that stripped her of power, being executed on a forged order. See Wieger, *op. cit.*, pp. 1193–1194 (where Ch'a is miswritten, and misrendered I).

[61] *Daizōkyō*, LI, pp. 1005c–1006a (from ii).

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think himself] beyond the clouds. The workmanship was so exquisite as to be almost beyond the power to praise. On days when the image was brought out a hundred soldiers from the Imperial Bodyguard would always be ordered to carry it, and musicians and various kinds of entertainers would be provided by the Throne."

24. "Yung-ning-ssu was established in [516] by the Empress Dowager Ling, i. e. Lady Hu.[62] It lay in front of the palace, one *li* south of the main palace gateway, and west of the Imperial Avenue. Within it was a nine-storeyed pagoda framed in wood, which rose 900 feet, and had a mast 100 feet higher still, so that the total height was 1000 feet. It was visible at a distance of 100 *li* from the capital. When they were excavating for the base they reached 'the Yellow Springs' and there found 3000 gilded images; the Empress Dowager Ling took this for a proof of her belief in the Dharma, and so carried the construction to extraordinary lengths. On the mast was a gilded 'treasure vase' capable of holding 25 catties; below this were 30 tiers of 'dew-catching basins' ringed around by gilded bells. Furthermore there were four lines of iron chains that led down from the mast to the four corners of the pagoda, and these also had gilded bells, each the size of a tomb statue of stone. Also there were 120 gilded bells that hung from the corners of all nine storeys, from top to bottom. The pagoda had four sides, each with three doors and six windows. The doors were all lacquered red; each leaf had five rows of gilded nail-heads, there being of these 5400 in all, set into gilded bosses. All this was a supreme achievement in 'earth and wood' and for creativity was the last word in cunning. As a work in the Buddha's service it was past imagining. The richly decorated pillars and gilded bosses dazzled men's eyes; and when the wind was high all night long the harmonious tolling of the treasure-bells could be heard ten *li* or more away.

"North of the pagoda lay a Buddha hall, shaped like the Hall of State. At its center were an eighteen-foot gilded image and ten [other] gilded figures at life size. There were three icons embroidered in pearls and five woven ones. [In all these] the inventiveness and cunning of the workmanship were supreme in that age. The monks' dormitories with their towers and belvederes comprised more than a thousand bays. With their carven beams and white-plastered walls . . . they were almost beyond the power of words to describe . . . [The account continues to tell of the beauty of the trees, bamboo groves, and fragrant grasses, and quotes a stele comparing the temple to the "jewelled halls on Sumeru, or the pure palaces of Tuṣita"].

"The *sūtras* and images sent from foreign lands were all housed in this temple.

"The walls around the temple precincts were all topped by short rafters and tile roofs, just like the palace walls today. One gateway opened in each of the four sides [of the outer wall]. The southern one had a three-storeyed tower and a triple passage-way. It rose 200 feet, and was shaped like the present outer gateway [to the palace].

"On it were depicted cloud wraiths, and there

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 999c–1000a (from i). The biography of the beautiful, power-loving, and ill-fated Empress (the third consort of Shih Tsung) is given in *Wei Shu*, xiii, pp. 7r–8v; salient facts in her career are summarized by Wieger, *op. cit.*, pp. 1185–1188, 1190, 1193–1194, 1199–1205. Two other accounts of the great pagoda may be compared with that in the *Lo-yang CLC.*: *Wei Shu*, cxiv, pp. 8v–9r, says that it was 400 odd feet high; and *Shui Ching Chu*, III, xvi, p. 75, that its base was 140 feet square, and that from the top of the gilded mast it was 490 feet tall, the scheme being an enlargement of the one that had been used for the temple of the same name at the former capital (Wei entry 7). Translated into our own dimensions, this last version would give a height of about 390 English feet. The *Lo-yang CLC* account ends (p. 1002b) by telling that in 534 the huge tower burned to the ground, in spite of all efforts to save it. The fire smouldered on for three months, and the site remained smoky for a year. Travellers on the seashore claimed to have seen the pagoda rising over the water, as blazingly bright and splendid as it had been when new, until it was hidden by mists (cf. Liang entry 2, where the tale of the burning and ocean-apotheosis of Wu Ti's "Hall of Piled-up Clouds" may have been taken from this source).

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were Immortals working their wonders, all painted in colors . . . The gateway had four guardian figures and four lions, all being decorated with gold and silver, and given finishing touches with jewels and jades. The brilliance of the ornamentation surpassed all experience. The eastern and western gates were both similar to this, except that their towers were only two-storeyed. The north entrance had no building and only a single passage, and was like a 'crow-headed gate'" [i. e. something like a Japanese *torii*] . . .

"When the decorations were finished, the Emperor Ming and the Dowager Empress ascended [the pagoda] together. They saw the interior of the palace as if it were within their very hands, and overlooked the whole metropolis like the courtyard of a private house. With their own eyes they could watch denizens of the palace quarter who would never have been permitted to approach and show themselves [in person] . . . At that time there was a *śramaṇa* from the West named Bodhidharma, a *hu*-foreigner from the realm of Persia, who had come from the far frontiers to journey in the Middle Land. Seeing the golden disks gleaming in the sunlight so brightly that they lit up the undersides of the clouds, and the jewelled bells holding so much of the wind that their resonance reached out beyond the heavens, he sang [the temple's] praises, exclaiming that it was truly a work of the gods. He claimed to be 150 years of age, and to have travelled through the various realms in all parts [of the world]; and said that its exquisite beauty had no peer in Jambūdvīpa, nor was there its like in the regions at the uttermost limits of creation. Chanting 'I worship' [he remained there?] with hands clasped in prayer for days on end."

25. Prince Ching-hao of Ch'en-liu made over half of his mansion in the western suburbs for Buddhist use.[63] A certain courtier named Meng Chung-hui, much admired for his knowledge of Buddhist doctrine and skill in debate, sent him "a lacquer figure of a [Buddha]-in-the-flesh, whose body signs possessed a majesty rarely found in this world. It was placed in the Prince's front audience chamber, and for a while occupied his 'treasure-throne'. During [529] this statue would walk around the throne every night, [as could be told from] the prints made in the ground on the four sides, where its feet had sunk in. Gentry and commoners marvelled, and all flocked to see, as a result of which an incalculable number found their hearts stirred. In the autumn of [534] it vanished suddenly of itself, no one knew whither. In winter of that same year the capital was transferred to Yeh."

26. According to the Wei history during the Hsi-p'ing era (516) the realm of "Kao-ch'ang" (Turfan) sent an envoy to the Wei court with a pearl image as gift.[64]

27. The Wei history's life of the Dowager Empress Ling's father, Hu Kuo-chen, states that he had a deep faith in Buddhism.[65] Having reached his eightieth year in 517, he celebrated the Buddha's birthday by following on foot the procession of the Buddhist images that he had installed, setting out from his mansion and going as far as the palace gate, over a distance of four or five *li* of road. On the following day he also watched the images.

28. The Northern Wei pilgrim Hui-sheng, who returned in 520 from a two years' trip to the West summarized at the end of the *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, visited among other famous sites the former Kushan imperial capital at Peshawar in North-

[63] *Daizōkyō*, LI, pp. 1017c–1018a (from iv). *Wei Shu*, xv, pp. 6r–7r, records the princely holders of the Ch'en-liu fief, beginning with the giant warrior Ch'ien in the late fourth century. Information about this branch of the T'o-pa house seems to have run out by the end of the fifth, however, and I have been unable to identify any Prince Ching-chao.

[64] *Wei Shu*, ci, p. 8v, section on the realm of Kao-ch'ang.

[65] *Ibid.*, lxxxiii, 2, pp. 2rff.

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west India.[66] There "he had commissioned an expert artist to reproduce for him in bronze the form [of the Emperor Kaniśka's multi-storeyed] *stūpa*, together with the scenes on the four *stūpas* of [the *jātakas*] of Śākyamuni."

These last, according to the more detailed account of Fa-hsien, commemorated the four places where in prior lives the Buddha had: ransomed a dove with his body; fed with his body a tigress and her cubs; given his eyes as alms; and given away his brain.[67]

29. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies" adds a puzzling finale to the career of the ex-hunter Liu Sa-ho or Hui-ta, whom we have met as an early pilgrim to the "Aśokan" monuments of South China (see my entries 3, 4, and 5 under the Chin).[68] The account, to begin with, contains a flagrant chronological discrepancy. By Tao-hsüan's reckoning, Hui-ta first reached the holy sites around Nanking in 281. Now we read:

"[Hui]-ta subsequently took holy orders and went to dwell in Wen-ch'eng commandery: i. e. on the plateau southeast of the present Tz'u-chou (in modern Shansi), which was the place where he had been born. His shrine and image are to be found there; the place, inside An-min-ssu and under that temple's jurisdiction, is worshipped by both barbarians and Chinese. Then he journeyed [south] to Wu and Yüeh, as is fully told in his earlier biography. Coming down to the year [435] under the Northern Wei, [we find him] at the end of his missionary travels, coming back to the West and going to Liang-chou [in Kansu]. There, northeast of Fan-ho commandery, he caught sight of an august valley to which he paid reverence from afar. No one understood why he did so, and asked him; to which he replied: 'On that cliff an image is to appear. Should its wondrous body-signs be complete, the age will be a happy and peaceful one; but if anything be lacking, the world will be in turmoil and the people will suffer.'

"[Hui]-ta went on to Su-chou [in Kansu], where he died in a rocky gorge seven *li* westward from the district city of Chiu-ch'üan, his bones falling into fragments like sunflower seeds, just big enough to bore through. At present in an old temple west of the city there is a moulded image of him with its hand raised. The temple owns a stele with an incomplete inscription that reads: 'I was no great saint, but only one who made it his calling to wander and convert.'

"Eighty-seven years later, at the outset of the Cheng-kuang era [519–524] a great storm suddenly arose, and amid thunder and lighting the mountain split, revealing a stone image eighteen feet tall, majestic in its body-signs except that it lacked a head. So a stone was selected and a sculptor was ordered to carve a new head; but no sooner had it been set on than it fell off again, and in the end they gave up the attempt. The Wei regime fell into decadence [thereafter], just as [Hui-ta] had said.

"Subsequently in the first year of the [Northern] Chou [559] a light suddenly appeared in a ravine seven *li* east of Liang-chou city; a penetrating radiance that revealed itself in the gloomy depths, to the wonder of those who saw it, and that turned out to be the image's head. It was carried to the mountain cliff and set on [the body], where it fitted perfectly. For some forty years the sculpture of the Appearance had been deficient, while head and body lay in different places some two hundred *li* apart; now the body-signs were once more perfect, and peace reigned. In [561] an 'auspicious image temple' was established there, and thenceforth in uninterrupted succession there was a gleam of lamp lights moving about and a reverberation of tolling bells in the air, for no ascertainable reason. In [572] the statue's head fell off. The Premier and then the Prince of Ch'i came in person to see, and gave

66 *Daizōkyō*, LI, pp. 1018bff. (especially p. 1021c); in Beal's translation, pp. lxxxivff., especially p. cvi.

67 *Ibid.*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

68 *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 644c–645a (from xxv).

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orders that it be set back in place; but in the night it fell off as before. After this had happened several dozen times, they made another head of excess material, but in the end that too toppled to the ground. Later the Chou proscribed Buddhism, and though this lasted only four years the neighboring states [also] suffered and mourned. The thoughtful, when they considered the case, realized that a prior warning [had been given]. The statue, in the face of defeat and iconoclasm, still stood by itself.

"At the outset of the Sui *sūtras* and images waxed mightily: the Holy Visages was embellished, and the temple buildings once again were honored. In [609] Yang Ti made a visit in person to worship, giving generously and adding to the splendor. As a result the old title [of the temple] was altered to Kan-t'ung-ssu. An order was issued to copy the form [of the statue] but its measurements could not be taken; and though they aimed at eighteen feet when they measured the results were always different."

In Tao-hsüan's corpus of images this is the fourteenth; the account given there is for the most part identical.[69]

30. In the eastern suburbs of Lo-yang lay a minor temple called Kuei-chüeh-ssu, which prior to its consecration had been the mansion of four brothers who made their living as butchers.[70] In 531 "this temple's gilded image grew hair a full set of on its eyebrows and head. A senior deputy to the Minister of State, Wei Chi-ching,[71] said to people, 'The same thing happened to Chang T'ien-hsi and his country was thereafter obliterated.[72] This too is a sign of ill omen.' In the following year [the Prince of] Kuang-ling was deposed and killed."[73]

The chapter on omens in the Wei history notes that in the second month of 530 two cases of hair-growing occurred on bronze images about a foot high, belonging to commoners in the capital.[74] "One grew four white hairs under its chin, and the other a single black hair at the side of its cheek."

31. The summary of good works given in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, claims that the last Northern Wei Emperor who reigned more than a few months, Hsiao Chuang Ti (r. 528–530), "erected five monasteries and had a myriad stone images made."[75]

32. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies" dwells at great length on the career of priest Ching-ai (534–578), a native of Ying-yang in Honan, who later became one of the most influential clerics at the Northern Chou capital.[76] He is

[69] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 417c.

[70] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 1010a (from ii).

[71] Biography in *Pei Shih*, lvi, p. 9r, v. A relative of the author of the Wei history, Wei Shou.

[72] Biographies in *Chin Shu*, lxxxvi, pp. 13v–14v, and in *Wei Shu*, xcix, p. 3r; Giles' no. 114. The last ruler (and so typically extravagant and reckless) of the Chinese regime of Former Liang, founded in Kansu in 323 after the break-up of the Chin empire. A series of prodigies gave warning of his doom: earthquakes, landslides, eruptions of water, fires that started in mud, willows turning into pine-trees. Just before his surrender to the then irresistible armies of Fu Chien, in 376, his palace hall and its gateway are said to have collapsed spontaneously. He was, however, more fortunate in the end than his conqueror; after Fu Chien's downfall he escaped to the South, and was rewarded by being made Governor of Liang-chou under the Eastern Chin: a paper title only, but one which must have had political importance. For these events, see Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 981, 990–991.

[73] This prince was Yüan Kung, a grandson of Hsien Wen Ti, who was snatched from semi-obscurity by the Erh-chu party to be their puppet Emperor, and was killed when they were defeated by Kao Huan, in 532. His annals are recorded, under the title of "the First Deposed Emperor," in *Wei Shu*, xi, pp. 1rff., and he is briefly mentioned in the biographical section, xxi, 1, p. 9r.; also in Wieger, *op. cit.*, p. 1208.

[74] *Wei Shu*, cxii, i, p. 12v. [75] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 507b.

[76] *Ibid.*, L, p. 625c (from xxiii). The article by Kenneth Ch'en on "Anti-Buddhist Propaganda under the Nan-ch'ao" in *Harvard Jour. of As. Stud.*, XV, 1–2, 1952, p. 176, characterizes a polemic written in 436 by the relapsed Sung monk Hui-lin in terms that suggest that the Hells, at least, were already a popular theme in the art of that period: "Now, however, the religion depicted hells to frighten people, and painted rosy pictures of paradise to attract the multitudes." This is only a paraphrase; the original, incorporated into the section on India in *Sung Shu*, xcvii (here p. 6r) merely says: "They describe the Hells to make people afraid of the punishments given there, and expatiate on the halls of Heaven to urge all living beings toward that bliss."

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said to have gone with other boys (some time before his entry into the order in 550) "to visit a temple, where they saw scenes of Hell painted."

33. The painting history *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, viii, names two Wei artists who specialized in Buddhist icons. Yang Ch'i-te "was an expert painter of icons"; Wang Yu "won respect by his copies of icons."[77]

The remaining entries are of less specific interest.

34. The thirty-first entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus tells of a man who during the T'ien-p'ing era of Eastern Wei (534-537) had a gilded image of Avalokiteśvara made, which he served with unremitting devotion.[78] Thrown into prison he prayed and confessed his sins. In a dream he saw a *śramaṇa* who was reciting the "*Sūtra* of Avalokiteśvara as Savior of All Beings," and was told that if he would repeat the Buddha's names contained therein a thousand times he would escape punishment. He was still reciting as he was led out to be executed. The headsman struck at his neck nine times with three different swords, without being able to break the skin; so in the end he was released. On his return home he found that the statue had three scars on its neck.

35. The *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*, iv, tells of a man from Nan-yang in Honan who owned a bronze image ten feet or so high (as the story is retold in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, lvii, the dimension is given as a foot or so, which seems much more likely).[79] He intended to gild it with the proceeds from the sale of an ox, but for reasons of convenience postponed the act for two years. Then the statue appeared to his wife in a dream, announcing that as a forfeit it would take their only son. The son died in the morrow; and while the father lamented, the statue took on a golden color, and emitted a fragrance that filled the whole neighborhood.

[77] *Keisekken*, V, p. 13v; Ono, pp. 211, 362–363. The biography of Wang Yu appears in *Wei Shu*, lxxi, p. 11v. His family had had its estates in the old Ch'ang-an region, and had migrated southward when the Chin expedition captured that city in 416. His father, whose personal assets combined bravery, calligraphic skill, and a passion for ancient history, was one of the Southern generals who deserted to the Wei during the final disintegration of the Ch'i regime. Yu "loved study, had literary ability, and was an expert at the cursive and 'square' styles of calligraphy. By nature he was magnanimous, with the manner of a great gentleman. He also won the respect of his generation for his skill as a copyist of paintings." He served the Wei as a secretary to one of the ministries and as military governor of a provincial town in Shantung; and was killed in the civil wars of the early 530's. Yang Ch'i-te I have been unable to trace beyond the citation in *Li-tai MHC*.

[78] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 420a, b; quoted in *Fa Yüan CL*, xvii (*ibid.*, LIII, p. 411b).

[79] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 1016a, and LIII, p. 720b, c.

NORTHERN CH'I AND NORTHERN CHOU

A.D. 550–581

1. The Ch'i founder, Wen Hsüan Ti (r. 550–559) is described in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, c, as a great temple builder under whom monks and nuns swelled in numbers in every province.[1] The Shansi gazetteer ascribes to his reign the opening of the well known cave temples at T'ien-lung-shan, southwest of T'ai-yüan-fu.[2] In Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies" we find also that the monk Ming-fen (one of the priests used by the Sui Emperor in his grand distribution of

[1] *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 1026a.

[2] Quoted by Ōmura, p. 314, from the *Shan-hsi T'ung-chih*, xxix.

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relics) went with his relic to the "rock cave temple" in Tz'u-chou (in Shansi).[3] "The said temple had been founded by Wen Hsüan of the Ch'i, and his tomb is at the back of the image in the large cave. The various carvings in the treasury would frighten away men or demons."

2. The annals of the "last ruler" (r. 565–576) state that "he once excavated a mountain west of Chin-yang [in Shansi] to make a colossal Buddha image. All night long he would have a myriad oil lamps burning, so that the light illumined the palace interior." For his great temple buildings "the utmost in skill and cunning was reached. What with transporting stone and digging for springs, the expense mounted into millions, and the number of men and oxen who died was beyond all reckoning."[4]

3. *Pien Cheng Lun*, iv, tells that the Ch'i general T'ang Yung "had a gilded statue of Maitreya cast, seven feet tall including its aureole; had two eighteen-foot images made of white stone... and repaired a myriad or so old images."[5]

4. The thirty-third entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus tells that "at the end of the Northern Ch'i a *śramaṇa* of the 'Supernatural Rock Temple,' Ling-shih-ssu, in Chin-chou [in Shansi], one Seng-hu...vowed to make an eighteen-foot stone image.[6] The monks all marvelled at his boastfulness; but later on in a valley north of the temple a rock some eighteen feet long was found lying on its side; sculptors were hired, and in time they fashioned a Buddha. It was worked all around but the face and abdomen were only blocked out, and it still lay on its back on the ground. They tried to haul it upright with all the equipment they had, but it would not move; then during the night it rose lightly of itself, and was so discovered, to everyone's delight, on the morrow. Then it was worked over, and transferred to the Buddha hall.

"On the day that Chin-chou fell [to the Chou] the image's sweat poured down into the ground. As soon as the Chou troops crossed the frontier they began burning down temples and pagodas. This image too underwent a fire, but without changing color, and with injury to only two of its fingers. They then tried to overturn it; but though sixty men and oxen hauled at it, they had no success. Then all at once a strange monk appeared, whom no one recognized, and who ringed it around with a mass of tiles, timbers, earth, and brickbats. In a few moments he had finished, and vanished. Subsequently the statue appeared in a dream to a believer and said, 'My injured fingers are paining me.' The man understood, and had them repaired... Again, in [595] someone stole its banners and canopy, and thereupon dreamed that a man eighteen feet tall came into his chamber to punish him; whereupon he was so terrified that he took them back. It is said that the statue is still to be seen there today."

5. Tao-hsüan's thirty-fifth entry, placed under the Northern Chou, is "the portable image at Hua-yen-ssu on Mount Hsien in Hsiang-chou [in Honan]; an ancient wooden figure of unknown origin.[7] Its face and head were so remark-

[3] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 669c (from xxvi).

[4] *Pei Ch'i Shu*, viii, p. 6v. The passage cites similar outbrusts of reckless extravagance in building palaces and parks for his concubines, and other bizarre fancies; many of these are retold by Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1242. A preliminary report on the present condition of this cave site (where no trace of the colossus remains) is given in the publication of the Pei-p'ing National Library, *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzu-liao*, 1954, 4, pp. 50ff. References are quoted to trace the long-prosperous history of this temple from Northern Ch'i until the beginning of Ming. The only early remains identified, however, are a pair of stone grave pagodas of the tenth century.

[5] *Daizōkyo*, LII, p. 516a, b. The donor's biographies (in *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xl, pp. 2v–3r, and in *Pei Shih*, lv, p. 8v) say nothing about his patronage of Buddhism, but by an incidental anecdote testify to the height of major Buddhist buildings of the period: Emperor Wen Hsüan is described as climbing up in a Buddhist temple to survey a distant city.

[6] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 420b, c.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 420c–421a.

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ably beautiful that one could never have his fill of looking at it. The height was around fifty feet. It had once been supernaturally responsive, but at that time was so no longer; it was not a Buddha in the full sense. When the Chou exterminated Buddhism, people hid the head away. With the Sui restoration it was fitted out as before, so as to be a holy image, and was named Vairocana Buddha. When the annual prayers for good fortune were uttered, particular confidence was placed in it. When Wen Ti of the Sui lay on his deathbed, snivel poured from its nostrils and ran down so as to soak its breast; the gold foil peeled away, but where the snivel had flowed it was bright. When they wiped it there was no real dirtiness, though from a distance there still seemed to be snivel there. In the fourth month of [649] snivel again flowed and besmeared the chest [over an area] a foot in circumference, without ceasing. Subsequently [T'ang] T'ai Tsung threw off his mortal coil, and the prophecy was recognized as such. In the sixth month once again snivel poured out, and the whole realm was in consternation, not knowing what sort of misfortune would ensue. During the seventh month the Han River flooded, and overran the city and its suburbs to a depth of ten feet or so, drowning no small number.

"It is at present in its original temple, and is much besought there. The gentry and commoners of Hsiang-yang who have few sons to follow after them all go thither to pray [to the image]; and as the state of their hearts [permit, both] men and women are answered."

6. The summary of good works given in *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, states that the second Northern Chou monarch, "His Imperial Majesty Hsiao Ming . . . in his second year [560] was pleased to have fashioned on behalf of the late Emperor one woven icon of Vairocana with two Bodhisattvas, twenty-six feet high, and twelve life-sized statues of sandalwood, each with two Bodhisattvas, Vajra-[bearers], lions, and the like. In beauty these reached Heaven's own perfection; they were as wondrous as the work of gods."[8]

Of the most powerful Chou ruler, the later persecutor of Buddhism, Wu Ti (r. 560–578), we read that in 560 "on behalf of His Imperial Majesty Wen he had fashioned a brocaded icon of Śākyamuni, sixteen feet high, together with Bodhisattvas and saintly monks, Vajra-[bearers], lions, and surrounding treasure-pagodas, [the whole comprising] 220 figures.[9] These were of course supplemented by cloud designs and [coils of] dragon's breath, in which the art of weaving was once and for all brought to perfection; and by clear water and river ripples done [with the dexterity] of a swordsman.[10] [One saw] the Pure Land Paradise illumined in a celestial radiance, and supernaturally created Buddhas revealed in their round aureoles. Furthermore on the south side of the capital he had three temples built, [called] Ning-kuo, Hui-ch'ang, and Yün-ning. Their flying bridge-galleries o'erstepped the terraces of Middle Heaven; their multi-storeyed gates supported belvederes for the Immortals. What with cloud-patterned ridges and 'pondweed kingposts,'[11] with embroidered columns and decorated eaves, with summer doors and autumn windows, with lotus pools and crab-apple gardens; where every place was exquisitely clean and everything was bewitchingly lovely; the viewer would forget to leave, so dazzled would be his eyes. He brought into the order a total of 1800 monks and nuns, and had 1,700 odd sections of the *sūtras* and commentaries copied."

I cannot readily explain why Hsiao Ming Ti

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 508a.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 508b.

[10] For the text of this sentence, see Quotations, K.

[11] A cliché borrowed from Confucius: *Lun Yü*, chapter *Kung Yeh Ch'ang*, 17. For a discussion of the relevance of the phrase to Chinese architectural history, see Soper, *The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, p. 10. The other architectural details cited in the description of the Northern Chou temples were probably also plagiarized from earlier literary effusions dealing with extravagantly equipped palaces.

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should have had twelve statues — of Buddhas, since they were accompanied by the usual flanking elements, Bodhisattvas, Vajra-bearers, and lions — made of sandalwood. The number twelve, with its astronomical connotations, is familiar in later periods, in other groups (particularly the twelve guardians assigned to the Buddha of Healing, Bhaiṣajyaguru, and the twelve gods of the Tantric *maṇḍala*); I know of no other early case of its use with Buddha figures.

The account given of Wu Ti's great woven picture already suggests the type of T'ang composition familiar in the cave paintings of Tun-huang; or indeed, at a reduced scale, the T'ang style embroidered picture of Śākyamuni preaching at Kanjūji in Japan.[12] Nothing so elaborate has been preserved from the Northern Ch'i or Chou regimes; but one can see at least that the Buddhist groups carved in relief at this same period for the cave shrines at Hsiang-t'ang-shan in Honan (two of which are now in the Freer Gallery in Washington) have a greater complexity of detail and many more figures than anything comparable in the Wei style.[13] The age must have seen as marked changes in iconography as those that are apparent in its figure style.

7. Tao-hsüan's sequel to the "Biographies" mentions posthumous portraits in connection with two Northern Chou priests: Seng-t'iao (480–560) and Seng-shih (476–563).[14]

8. The life of priest Pao-t'uan (512–561) in the same collection[15] states that during his last months at Kuang-hsing-ssu in T'ung-chou in Szechwan "during the fifth month a landslide occurred without warning on the mountain where he used to dwell, with clouds of dust that darkened the heavens: an uncanny occurrence that the frightened monks could not explain. In the eighth month the villagers on the north side of the mountain saw the holy image leave the mountain temple and fly off northward through the air, preceded by banners and flowers and followed by a crowd of priests. They went to inquire at the temple but no one there knew anything. Just at that time T'uan was hurrying to lecture at Kuang-hsing-ssu, and so they told him about it. He replied, 'That means a summons for me; I shall not prepare for anything else.' And they say that he died at that temple, just as he had guessed that he would."

This story seems to represent a half-way stage toward the representation in art of the Buddha's coming to receive the soul of a dying believer. Ordinarily the welcoming deity would be Amitābha, but by this period one would expect His procession to include the two Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (to judge from the votive inscriptions of the time). In view of their omission from the miracle, it is possible that the image was a Maitreya (since His devotees had borrowed the welcome idea from the rival cult).

9. *Pien Cheng Lun*, iv, records that one of the Chou generals, Hou-mo-ch'en Hsiu, the Duke of Ch'ing-ho, had a sixteen-foot lacquer statue of Amitābha made. The Duke of the Realm of Ch'u, Tou Lu-ning, a descendant of the Mu-jung house that had ruled over northeast China two centuries earlier, "had images cast and *sūtras* copied in uninterrupted succession." The Duke of the Realm of Shu, Wei-ch'ih Hui, "built the Wondrous Image Temple, Miao-hsiang-ssu."[16]

[12] Often reproduced, e. g. in *Kokka* 258.

[13] Reproduced, e. g., by O. Siren, *A History of Chinese Sculpture*, London, 1925, pls. 192–195.

[14] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 553c, 558a (from xvi).

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 487a, b (from viii).

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 518b; 517c; and 518b, respectively. I have been unable to identify the first-named donor elsewhere; a notice on his barbarian clan name is given by W. Eberhard, *Das Toba-reich Nord Chinas*, Leiden, 1949, p. 312, and several of his presumed relatives appear in *Pei Chou Shu*, xvi and xix. Tou's biographies are found in *Chou Shu*, xix, p. 3r, v, and in *Pei Shih*, lxviii, p. 1r, v; Wei-ch'ih's in *Chou Shu*, xxi, p. 1r, v, and in Pei Shih, lxii, pp. 4v–5r. The latter's invasion of Shu is briefly noted in Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1225.

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10. The encyclopedia *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* has preserved the text of a stele inscription dealing with "the Buddha-shrines of the Mai-chi Cliffs in T'ien-shui-chün, Ch'in-chou." The author, Yü Hsin (–580), was a Southerner whose grandfather and father had served the Southern Ch'i and Liang regimes.[17] He himself won celebrity as a writer under the Liang, held a succession of offices at court and in the provinces, represented his ruler as an envoy to Eastern Wei in 537 (where he is said to have been greatly admired); and was still in the service of the unfortunate Yüan Ti when the Liang rule at Chiang-ling was snuffed out by the Western Wei in 554. His experience and literary ability won him security in the northwest, however, and he enjoyed under the Chou rulers an even greater preeminence than before (perhaps because he had far fewer rivals). His composition describes the rugged beauty of the cave shrines' site in Kansu (his poetic style was so much admired in his time that most of his biography in the *Chou Shu* is filled with an interminable poetic "Lament for the South.") After many flourishes and allusions he records the fact that the donor had "reverently made a Seven Buddha shrine on behalf of his deceased father."

The brisk activity of Chinese archaeologists in recent years has rediscovered Mai-chi Shan, in southeastern Kansu, as a site of great importance for the history of early Buddhist sculpture in China, outranked only by Yün-kang and Lung-men.[18] Historical evidence indicates that the mountain was chosen as a Buddhist retreat as early as the 420's; a great number of caves with sculpture have been preserved from the Wei, Chou, Sui, and T'ang periods. Among the published inscriptions that I have seen, however, only one designates the images made: this, found in Cave 110, names a pair of "late Wei" Bodhisattvas as Avalokiteśvara and Akṣayamati. The latter Bodhisattva we shall find again only at Tun-huang, i. e. in the same province (Inscriptions entry 9, no. 21). As we shall see in the paragraph devoted to him in the iconographic chapter on the Bodhisattvas, his one claim to individual attention is the fact that the lines assigned to him in the "Lotus" are all-important in preparing for a definition of Avalokiteśvara's supremacy as a savior.

11. Of all the great Chinese persecutors of Buddhism, Wu Ti of Northern Chou seems to have undertaken his drastic measures with the greatest understanding of the issues involved. The most comprehensive account of the religious controversies in his reign is given in a mid seventh century history of the disputes between Buddhism and Taoism, the *Chi Ku-chin Fo Tao Lun-heng*.[19] There we read that the Emperor's concern led him to call a series of grand convocations in 569, inviting all prominent Confucianists, Buddhists, and Taoists to present their respective cases before him. He reached his final decision in 574, and decreed the abolition in his domains of both Buddhism and Taoism. When the rival state of Northern Ch'i was conquered in 577, the proscription was extended over the whole of north China. "In that age Buddhism had been so honored in the eastern reaches of the

[17] *TSCC*, 497, p. 151: the *Shen-i Tien*, xc, "Buddhist Images." Yü's biographies appear in *Chou Shu*, xli, pp. 2v–6v, and in *Pei Shih*, lxxxiii, p. 7v.

[18] First reported to a Western audience in the *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 6 and 13, 1954. A summary inventory of cave shapes and contents has been published in *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzu-liao*, 1954, nos. 2–6; the inscription with the reference to Avalokiteśvara and Akṣayamati appears in 5, p. 87 (Cave 110, over the doorway). A selection of the most attractive sculptures, chiefly of the Wei, Sung, and Ming periods, appears with a short, popularized text in the album *Mai-chi Shan Shih-k'u*, Peking, 1954. Unfortunately the paired Bodhisattvas of Cave 110 are not illustrated there. Cave 11, described as a Northern Chou foundation, contains a row of four Bodhisattvas on *either* side of the Buddha, all but one identified by legible inscriptions. Since the now visible state of these figures is due to a Ming restoration, and the names include two Tantric deities, they cannot with any safety be used as evidence for the original iconography of the cave (*Wen-wu*, 1954, 1, p. 32).

[19] *Daizōkyō*, LII, no. 2104, pp. 372aff. See also K. Ch'en, "Anti-Buddhist Persecutions," *Harvard Jour. of As. Stud.*, 1954.

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[Yellow] River under the Wei and Ch'i, and had waxed so mightily that its established temples and shrines numbered over 40,000. All of these were now handed over to the nobility for use as mansions. Of the five categories of *śramaṇas* 3,000,000 were secularized and taken back into the military and civil registers. The Buddhist images were melted down or cut up; the scriptures were burned; and all the property of the church was confiscated by the state."[20]

In the midst of the general catastrophe, the account takes special notice of the end of the celebrated priest Ching-ai, whom we have met earlier as a boy (see entry no. 32 under the Wei). Realizing that further appeals to the Emperor were useless, "with seven like-minded persons he undertook a seven-days' penitential fast before an image of Maitreya. At the end of the week the others all died together. He made his way to the Valley of Tin in Mount [Chung-]nan; flayed the flesh from his body and laid it out on the rocks, dragged out his intestines and hung them on a tree, and died holding out his heart."[21]

For our purposes there are particularly interesting passages recorded from the final debate that was held in 578 after the conquest of Ch'i presumably to decide whether or not the edict should be extended into the newly-won lands. Wu Ti presided from his throne over an audience of high priests, and opened the session by giving his reasons for condemning the Buddhist and Taoist churches. Confucianism was to be tolerated because it taught the art of governing, and for the social usefulness of the virtues it preached. But as for Buddhism:

"The true Buddha is beyond representation; for He resides in the Great Void; the distant reverence [that we feel for Him should be] revealed in our hearts. The Buddhist *sūtras* are admirably broad; but as for pagodas, they are built to be beautiful and to win good fortune. There is actually no feeling in any of this, so how can it [reach] the divine grace? The ignorant populace piously pours out its wealth to enlarge and increase temples and pagodas, spending and spending for nothing, until there is too little left to be inherited. Now these *sūtras* and images are to be wholly destroyed..."[22]

The story goes that only one priest in the hall, a certain Hui-yuan from Tun-huang, had the courage to speak out against the Emperor's premises. "His Majesty has proclaimed that the true Buddha is beyond representation; and truly these are like the words of a god. But the ear and the eye create the spirit; and it is by relying on the scriptures, or by listening to a Buddha, or with the aid of images, that the truth is made manifest.[23] If they are now to be done away with, there will be no way to arouse devotion."

The Emperor replied: "The true Buddha of the Void is known naturally by all men, with no borrowing from scriptures or images."

Hui-yuan said: "Before Ming Ti of Han, when scriptures and images were unknown here, how was it that the creatures of this land knew nothing of the true Buddha of the Void?.. If men should know what is lawful of themselves, without the aid of scriptures, in the age before the Three Emperors, when there was as yet no writing, they should of themselves have known the laws of the Five Relationships, and so on. Why was it then that people of that time 'only recognized their mothers, and not their fathers,'[24] like birds or beasts? If there were no feelings in images, and no reward for serving them, they ought to be abolished at once. [But what about] the images in the seven ancestral shrines of the

[20] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 374c.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 374a. A more detailed account is given in *Hsü KSC*, xxiii (*ibid.*, L, p. 627a, b).

[22] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 374a. For the text of the first sentence, see Quotations, L.

[23] For the text of this sentence, see Quotations, M.

[24] A well-known statement, found e. g. in *Chuang-tzu*, xxix (Giles' translation, p. 392), and *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu*, xx, 1.

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state: can it be that they have feelings, or that it is absurd to honor them?"[25]

As the Buddhists told the story, the Emperor at first found nothing to say to these objections. Finally he retorted: "The Buddhist scriptures are a foreign law that this country does not need; they are to be abolished, and not used. The seven shrines were established in High Antiquity. We do not believe in them either, and intend to abolish them as well."

11. Before the year was out, the iconoclastic Emperor died — miserably, by Buddhist accounts. A story was current in early T'ang that a Sui official, miraculously revived from death, had seen Wu Ti of the Chou, who said that he was suffering great torments for having proscribed Buddhism; he begged that the Sui Emperor, who had once enjoyed his favors, might perform some act of charity for his soul. "Wen Ti issued a proclamation that throughout the realm every man should contribute one cash, to secure a better fortune for him."[26]

Under the last two Chou rulers, Buddhism was permitted to recover a foothold. At first only two temples were permitted, one at the capital and the other at Lo-yang. The Chou history records that Hsüan Ti (r. 578–579) in 579 revived images of the Buddha and of the Taoist "Lord of Heaven", and sat throned in state between the two.[27] *Pien Cheng Lun*, iii, remembers him as a "restorer of the Buddhist sun . . . who had four niche-shrines (?) for clay images made, containing a myriad odd figures."[28]

The great number of figures mentioned here suggests that the four groups represented the Paradises of the Four Quarters, with their hosts of Bodhisattvas, angels, and blessed souls; an enlargement, at a properly imperial scale, of the type of composition found at Hsiang-t'ang-shan (and perhaps a prototype for the groups of clay figures that the Japanese learned to place on the four sides of their pagodas, by the early eighth century).

12. The thirty-fourth entry in Tao-hsüan's corpus tells that in 574, "when Wu of the Chou, suspicious of the Buddhist law, was resolutely exterminating it, and the whole realm was plunged in darkness; a certain Chiang Ming of Ming-chou, whose duties as an overseer took him about at night, happened to be travelling a hundred li or so north of the provincial capital.[29] As he passed through the mountains he kept seeing a light shining on a mountain top. The thing seemed to him so remarkable that he finally made his way to where the light was; and there he saw a stone lying on its side, shaped like a Buddha image. He had it disengaged by digging, and found that it was iron ore and could not be chiselled. Its huge form was thirty feet or so tall. He wanted to have it burnished, and when that was finished one could not touch it. A search was made downhill from it, and revealed a stone pedestal, complete with a socket. All the villagers were hauling it upright, when the image suddenly slid downhill to the pedestal socket, and and in an instant was standing upright by itself. This was taken by everyone to be an extraordinarily good omen, and was duly reported to the Throne. Just at that time a new Emperor had been crowned, and milder days

[25] Ōmura, p. 33, suggests that the practise of substituting an image for the ancestral tablet may have originated in south China in late Chou. With reference to a mortuary image of the barbarian King Shih Hu at his old capital, Yeh, see below, p. 252.

[26] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 374c.

[27] *Chou Shu*, vii, p. 3v. On the Taoist practise of making images of the "Lord of Heaven" see Ōmura, p. 151. He quotes several Buddhist polemical works (e. g. *Pien Cheng Lun*, vi, and *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*, viii and xiii) which stress the claim that this development and others organized by the Taoist party, were of relatively late origin and were clearly indebted to Buddhism. Credit for their introduction at Nanking is given to a Taoist adept who lived there in the later fifth century, one Lu Hsiu-ching.

[28] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 508b.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 420c. The same story reappears in *Hsü KSC*, xxix (*ibid.* L, p. 692a) in the biography of the donor under the name that he took on becoming a monk, Seng-ming.

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were dawning for Buddhism; so the year was reckoned as the first of Ta-hsiang, the 'Great Colossus'. In addition a 'Temple of the Colossus', Ta-hsiang-ssu, was established on the site. When the Sui revolution occurred, further construction was carried out, and the [temple] name was changed to Hsien-chi-ssu. On investigation it was found that at the original site there was neither any human settlement, nor any [other] large rocks or even any iron ore; so how could [the thing] have been other than a miracle, accomplished by the supernatural powers of King Aśoka? The T'ang carried on [the temple] without a change, until at the end of the Chen-kuan era [627–649] a palace was established west of the temple, with the name Yü-hua. The image's original emplacement was thus thirty *li* east of the palace, within the park. T'ai Tsung once paid a visit to worship it, and was displeased at the lack of fine decorations; so he gave up personal effects for its embellishment... The place is under the jurisdiction of Fang-chou [in modern Shensi, in Chung-po-hsien]. Whenever there is a particularly dark night a light portent will shine forth; this has been so continually seen by clerics and laity that it causes no great astonishment."

13. The *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, viii, lists under the Northern Ch'i the well-known Ts'ao Chung-ta as "an able painter of Indian-[style] icons."[30] Chang Yen-yüan quotes the opinion of an earlier critic that Ts'ao had studied the style of the Liang master Yüan Ang, but greatly surpassed him, and "was unmatched in his day in doing Buddhist icons of foreign [type]."

30 *Keisekken*, V, p. 14v; Ono, pp. 213, 364. The tradition that Ts'ao was a Sogdian has been strongly countered by Pelliot in "Les fresques de Touen-houang et les fresques de M. Eumorfopoulos," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, V, 1928, pp. 152ff.

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II.

INSCRIPTIONS

Chinese Buddhist inscriptions of the Six Dynasties will be used in this chapter primarily as a source of statistics; to demonstrate the relative popularity of various figures in the Buddhist pantheon at different periods, and so indicate major trends in iconography. My data have been drawn for the most part from Ōmura's collection. I have added a number of inscriptions taken from two groups of fifth century Northern Wei sculptures published by the Japanese archaeologist Mizuno in 1950 and 1954;[1] and have used the latter's monographs on the cave shrines at Yün-kang and Lung-men, since they present the known information more comprehensively and systematically than was possible in Ōmura's time.[2]

It should be recognized that these statistics have only a relative and provisional value. To begin with, the relationship of the "sample" that they represent to the whole is beyond my power to calculate. The ratio between inscribed and uninscribed sculptures must have fluctuated very widely at different times and places; at Yün-kang there are almost no inscriptions, while at Lung-men almost every relief is meticulously incised with the proper date, names, and circumstances. There is a further uncertainty in the relationship between the dated inscriptions that make up the great majority of Ōmura's collections, and undated examples; of these last he must have omitted a good many (to judge by their frequency in the stones that I have seen). Finally, the reliability of the collection itself is not beyond question in every particular. It represents of course a series of decisions by Ōmura on authenticity; but the grounds on which these decisions were made can no longer be checked. Ōmura's personal acquaintance with the material that he selected seems to have varied between wide extremes. Some inscriptions he simply copied out of Chinese books that had no illustrations. Others he took from rubbings sent him from China, which might or might not indicate the character of the sculpture; a great many of these he describes simply as pedestals. Only a minority can have been known to him through photographs, or as actual objects in Japanese collections. Even at this level one cannot trust him unreservedly; for there are at least one or two illustrations in his book of statues whose inscribed dates are flagrantly at variance with their styles.[3]

1 "Beginnings of the Buddhist Statue in China," *Ars Buddhica*, VIII, 1950, pp. 39–64; and "Geneology of the Buddhist Stone Statues in the P'ing-ch'eng Period of the Northern Wei Dynasty," *ibid.*, XXI, 1954, pp. 3–41. Both are in Japanese; titles are those on the English title page. I have not attempted to expand this "sample" by drawing on the very many inscribed stones or gilt bronzes in Western collections: partly because of the difficulty of securing information and reaching anything like complete coverage; and more particularly because of the even greater difficulty of sifting out the genuine pieces from a fairly high proportion of fakes. Ōmura's corpus is not beyond suspicion, but has the advantage of having been formed before the state of the art market made it highly profitable to produce spurious statues in quantities.

2 Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yün-kang* (1952) and the earlier, more general account of the same site in *Unkō Sekibutsugun*, Ōsaka, 1944; and *Ryūmon* (1941).

3 E. g. his fig. 573, a gilt bronze seated Bodhisattva in full T'ang style, which he places among Eastern Wei pieces because of its inscribed date of 546.

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There are still other limitations on the accuracy of the "sample." A large proportion of the inscribed and dated stones fail to identify the figures they show, describing them only in such general terms as "a Buddha image," or "a stone image," or "a holy image." I have tried to make the best of this situation by including the category "image" in my lists, since that at least permits a check on the size of the "sample" given. Again, it is likely that the scribes were more careful about naming the major deities than the accompanying minor ones; my entry for "Śākyamuni single," for example, may just possibly conceal a number of groups including Bodhisattvas or monks.

The order followed below sets first the Southern and then the Northern dynasties, in chronological sequence. Within each chronological group the entries are arranged first in the hieratic order: Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and lesser beings; and then alphabetically. Items of special iconographic interest will be individually described after the statistic table in which they are included.

1. *Sung:*

Amitāyus	1
"a Buddha"	1
Maitreya	1

The Amitāyus inscription, dated 448, includes a prayer for rebirth in the realm of the Buddha of Boundless Life.[4]

2. *Southern Ch'i:*

Śākyamuni	1
Vipaśyin Buddha	1

3. *Liang:*

Amitāyus	1
Śākyamuni	1
"Buddha image"	2
Avalokiteśvara	1
Maitreya	2

The Śākyamuni inscription, dated 537, reveals a characteristic eclecticism. The dedication is to Śākyamuni; the donor prays both to be reborn in the West (i. e. in the Paradise of Amitāyus) and to meet Maitreya face to face.[5]

4. *Ch'en:*

"image"	1

5. *Northern to A. D. 446:*

"Buddha image"	1
Maitreya	1
"image"	2

An inscription of 442, the first of its kind in the Northern series, prays for rebirth before Maitreya.[6]

6. *Northern Wei, 446–494:*

From this point on, the inscriptions from the major cave shrines will receive a separate listing, since their evidence differs from the rest in being both unimpeachable and complete.

		Yün-kang
Śākyamuni, single	6	
Śākyamuni, with Maitreya, Prabhūtaratna		1
"Buddha image"	2	
Avalokiteśvara, single	5	
Avalokiteśvara, triple	1	
Avalokiteśvara, with Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Mañjuśrī		1

[4] Ōmura, p. 143. This statuette, once in the Tuan Fang collection and now in the Freer Gallery, is no. 17 in the list of inscribed Buddhist works assembled by B. Rowland, "Notes on the Dated Statues of the Northern Wei Dynasty and the Beginning of Buddhist Sculpture in China," *Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1, 1939: an important pioneer publication, though never entirely accurate and now partly outdated.

[5] Ōmura, p. 164.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 175. This piece is no. 25 in Mizuno's list in *Ars Buddhica*, xxi, pp. 29–30; the inscription deals primarily with the making of a miniature stone pagoda.

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	Yün-kang
Maitreya, single	9
Maitreya, with Śākyamuni, Prabhūtaratna	1
Contemplative Prince	1
"image"	1

The surprising triple dedication to Avalokiteśvara occurs on a stone dated 453, which Ōmura unfortunately describes only by saying that the nimbus is 2.75 *shaku* (about 2 feet 9 inches) high.[7]

An inscription of 478, naming Avalokiteśvara, contains the first recorded Northern prayer for rebirth in the Western Land.[8]

Of the Yün-kang inscriptions, that naming the trio of Bodhisattvas is in cave 11, dated 483;[9] and the other, naming the two Buddhas with Maitreya, is in cave 17, dated 489.[10]

7. *Northern Wei, 495–515:*

	Lung-men	Yün-kang
Bhaiṣajyaguru		1
Dīpaṃkara	2	
Kāśyapa Buddha	1	
Prabhūtaratna	1	1
Śākyamuni, single	18	1
Śākyamuni, with Maitreya		1
Śākyamuni, with two Bodhisattvas	2	
Seven Buddhas	1	
Fifty-three Buddhas	1	
"Buddha image"	3	
Avalokiteśvara, single	4	3
Avalokiteśvara, pair		1
Maitreya, single	4	19
Maitreya, pair		1
Maitreya, with Śākyamuni		1
Maitreya, with two Bodhisattvas		1
"image"	5	37

The Bhaiṣajyaguru figure is not actually dated, but is alongside a niche in cave 11 that bears a date of 496. It is a small, roughly carved image of a Buddha in the *dhyāna* position, done in the style of this period.[11] The Śākyamuni and Maitreya pair are in the fifth niche in cave 11, dated 495; they are in two tiers, with Maitreya sitting in his crossed ankle position above. The small attendant Bodhisattvas present in both tiers are not mentioned in the inscription.[12]

Both pairs of Bodhisattvas occur among the multitude of lesser donations at small scale in the

[7] Ōmura, p. 179.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 185, fig. 462; Rowland's no. 24. The figure, surprisingly enough, is that of a standing Buddha.

[9] *Yün-kang*, VIII, p. 115, pl. 30. The names of the three Bodhisattvas are in cartouches beside them, above the inscription.

[10] *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 107, 109, pls. 12, 21. In two tiers: Maitreya seated with crossed ankles above, the twin Buddhas below.

Mizuno has identified a squatting Buddha in the same cave, on the south wall east of the entrance, as an Amitāyus from the fact that one of its flanking Bodhisattvas wears a crown holding a miniature Buddha; and the other, one with a vial. See his argument in *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku*, V, 2, 1941, pp. 77–79; the group is illustrated in *Yün-kang*, XII, pls. 29–34, pp. 112–113.

[11] *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 123, pl. 65 A.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 109, pls. 9–10.

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Ku-yang cave of Lung-men. The two Avalokiteśvaras are briefly described by Mizuno and Nagahiro as "trio standing Bodhisattva figure(s)"; photographs, however, show a miniature pointed-arch niche containing a standing Buddha, flanked by two much smaller standing Bodhisattvas.[13] Presumably these last are the Avalokiteśvara pair, though to name them rather than the axial Buddha seems a curious choice. Though this inscription is undated, the name of the same donor, the Prince of An-ting, occurs in two other dedications in the same cave, dated 507 and 511; he is an identifiable member of the Toba house, and died in 515.[14]

The two Maitreyas are identical Bodhisattvas sitting with crossed ankles in adjacent and identical niches. The dedication, dated 512, runs under both.[15] Each niche, incidentally, also contains four flanking figures, unnamed; apparently two Bodhisattvas and two monks.

8. *Northern Wei, 516–535:*

		Lung-men
Amitāyus		9
Bhaiṣajyaguru, with Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara		1
Prabhūtaratna	1	2
Śākyamuni, single	1	21
Śākyamuni, sixteen		1
Śākyamuni, with Lao-tzu	1	
Śākyamuni, with two Avalokiteśvaras		1
Seven Buddhas		2
1000 Buddhas		1
Avalokiteśvara, single	2	13
Avalokiteśvara, paired, with Śākyamuni		1
Avalokiteśvara, with Bhaiṣajyaguru, Maitreya		1
Maitreya, single	16	14
Maitreya, paired	1	
Maitreya, with Bhaiṣajyaguru, Avalokiteśvara		1
"image"	16	37
"image with two Bodhisattvas"	1	

The sixteen figures of Śākyamuni occur, at very small scale, in two rows of eight on the left-hand wall of the Lotus Cave. Since they were individually vowed by sixteen named donors, they perhaps may represent an accidentally-formed collection, rather than an iconographic group. The date is 521.[16]

A small niche, low down and near the entrance on the south wall of the Ku-yang cave, contains five figures: two standing Bodhisattvas, two

[13] *Ryūmon*, inscription no. 700, p. 313; the niche is described in the table following p. 106, and located on the chart, fig. 96. Chavannes, *Mission*, p. 516, translates the inscription, his no. 468, reading "one image" rather than two, presumably because his rubbing (fig. 560) was nearly illegible at that point. He locates the niche wrongly on his fig. 367; it appears on his fig. 368.

[14] These two inscriptions are Chavannes' nos. 394 and 411, *Ryūmon* nos. 599 and 619 respectively. The princely donor is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 202–203; he was Yüan Hsieh, whose biography occurs in *Wei Shu*, xix, 3, p. 12r., a grandson of Ching Mu Ti (the proper heir of the conqueror T'ai Wu Ti, who died just before his father as the victim of a court cabal, and was awarded imperial status posthumously; see Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1119).

[15] *Ryūmon* no. 623, p. 305; Chavannes' no. 414. The latter's fig. 365 shows the two niches to right of center (in the bottom group on the first pier inside the entrance, north wall).

[16] *Ryūmon* no. 349, p. 275; Chavannes' no. 244 and fig. 322 (showing them at the center). The cave contains a quotation from the "Lotus", and so the group may have been intended as a re-interpretation of the catalogue of sixteen directional Buddhas contained therein, of which Śākyamuni is the last; in Kern's translation, pp. 177–179.

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monks, and at the center a cross-ankled Bodhisattva. It is a surprise to find that the inscription, dated 525, identifies the group as a Maitreya with Avalokiteśvara and Bhaiṣajyaguru. The latter is normally counted as a Buddha, and very likely was confused here with the Bodhisattva whose name is nearly identical, Bhaiṣajyarāja.[17]

The inscription mentioning a dedication to Lao-tzu and Śākyamuni, dated 522, is quoted without any description by Ōmura from a Chinese source.[18]

9. *Eastern and Western Wei*, 534–557:

During this period, and particularly under the Eastern Wei, iconographic patterns were enriched by new deities, by novel combinations, and (on large stelae] by a multiplication of groups. A number of examples will be analysed individually below. In order to insure that these can be traced on the statistical table, the latter's entries are numbered. The same practise will be followed in the succeeding section, on Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou.

	West	East	Lung-men
1. Amitāyus, single		1	
2. Amitāyus, two		1	
3. Amitāyus, with eight named attendants	1		
4. Dīpaṃkara, with Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Samantabhadra	1		
5. Kāśyapa Buddha		1	
6. Prabhūtaratna, with Śākyamuni	1	2	
7. Śākyamuni, single	3	4	2
8. Śākyamuni, eighteen		1	
9. Śākyamuni, with Prabhūtaratna	1	2	
10. Śākyamuni with Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī		1	
11. Śākyamuni, with two Bodhisattvas		1	
12. Śākyamuni, with two Bodhisattvas and others named		3	
13. Śākyamuni, with two Contemplative Princes		1	
14. Śākyamuni, with Dipaṃkara etc. (cf. line 4)	1		
15. Vairocana		1	
16. Seven Buddhas		2	
17. "Buddha image"		4	
18. "Buddha image with two Bodhisattvas"		5	
19. "Buddha image with two Bodhisattvas", two Princes, etc.		1	
20. Akṣayamati, flanking Amitāyus (cf. line 3)	1		
21. Avalokiteśvara, single	3	7	2
22. Avalokiteśvara, with Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī		1	
23. Avalokiteśvara, with two Bodhisattvas			1
24. Avalokiteśvara, flanking Amitāyus (cf. line 3)	1		
25. Mahāsthāmaprāpta, flanking Amitāyus (cf. line 3)	1		
26. Maitreya, single		5	2
27. Maitreya, with Dipaṃkara, etc. (cf. line 4)	1		

[17] *Ryūmon* no. 652, p. 306; Chavannes' no. 568 and fig. 381 (where they appear on the left).

[18] Ōmura, p. 237.

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	West	East	Lung-men
28. Mañjuśrī, with Vimalakīrti		1	
29. Mañjuśrī, flanking Amitāyus (cf. line 3)	1		
30. Mañjuśrī, with Avalokiteśvara, Śākyamuni		1	
31. Samantabhadra (cf. line 4)	1		
32. "Image"	11	36	18
33. "Image with two Bodhisattvas"		1	
34. "Images facing four ways"	3	1	

The following pieces are especially noteworthy:

A well-known stele of 535 preserved at Shao-lin-ssu in Honan has a particularly ambitious layout (lines 2, 9, 10, 16).[19] On the front, the main niche holds a Śākyamuni, flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. In the spandrels of the arch frame are small figures of Brahmā and Vaiśravaṇa. Across the top the Seven Buddhas are set in individual small niches. On each narrow end of the stele is a standing Amitāyus under a canopy. On the rear there are seven tiers of small niches, in six rows; the checkerboard being interrupted at the center to introduce a larger niche holding the twin figures of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna. The identical small Buddhas in the other niches are named, for the most part, from the group of sixteen given in the "Lotus" as standing for the eight compass points. Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, in addition, reappear with the title of Buddha, and there is an Amitāyus as well as the Amitābha who represents the West. The other Buddhas I have not been able to identify.

An Eastern Wei stele of 537 speaks of summoning famous craftsmen from afar to make a pagoda with (? number effaced) Buddhas and six Bodhisattvas (line 18).[20]

The Tun-huang cave 120N (by Pelliot's reckoning) contains two painted groups with identifying inscriptions. Just inside the entrance, to the right, is a compact group in two tiers centering on a squatting Amitāyus. On his right are in the first tier Akṣayamati and Avalokiteśvara, and in the second the monks Ānanda and Śariputra. On his left the first tier comprises Mañjuśrī and Mahāsthāmaprāpta; the secondMahā Kāśyapa and Maudgalyāyana (lines 3, 20, 24, 25, 29).[21] On the right-hand long wall are spaced six groups of single Buddhas with a pair of Bodhisattvas apiece, and a larger seventh containing two frontal Buddhas, side by side. Enough of the cartouches remain legible to show that these are the Seven Buddhas plus Prabhūtaratna; there is a date, 538.[22]

An Eastern Wei inscription of 544 tells that some 300 men made "one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, great in supernatural powers and peerless in wisdom. There were also two [Contemplative] Princes and eight angels, two precious pagodas [held by?] dragons swooping down, and lions, as well as celestial blossoms." The prayers include a wish to "meet the Holy Visage face to face when Maitreya is reborn here below." Of the form of this stele Ōmura says only that there are three niches, each with a seated Buddha, above the main body of the text, and that the back contains ten niches with seventeen figures. The rubbing, which seems to have

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 252, fig. 556; Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, II, pp. 149ff., pl. 123; Chavannes, *Mission*, pp. 578 to 583, pls. CCLXXIX–CCLXXXI.

[20] Ōmura, pp. 255–256.

[21] Pelliot, *Touen-houang*, pl. CCLVII. I have taken the inscription from the copy of Pelliot's notes preserved in the Musée Guimet, Paris (currently being printed at Leiden).

[22] *Op. cit.*, pls. CCLVIII, CCLX. A preliminary study of the historical position of this cave (renumbered 285) in the Tun-huang series has been made in *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzu-liao*, 1956, 2, pp. 16–21, by Su Pai.

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been all he knew, is 3.52 *shaku* high by 2.45 wide (line 18).[23]

The single Vairocana dedication (line 15) is dated 545. Ōmura describes it as a small stone Buddha, 0.9 *shaku* high, seated in what seems to be the pose of the "Contemplative Prince," with a lotus projecting from the throne to support the single pendant foot.[24]

An Eastern Wei inscription of 546 speaks of Śākyamuni with two Bodhisattvas, Mahā Kāśyapa, and Ānanda, "flames revealing the Seven Buddhas, the miraculous phenomenon of the birth from [Māyā's] waist, and the Nāga Kings spitting out fragrant [water on the newborn child]." In this case the dedication can be checked with the object itself, which is a standing Buddha with a large flame aureole in the University Museum, Philadelphia; approximately the "nine feet with nimbus and pedestal" recorded in the text. The description is not entirely what one would expect, however. The Śākyamuni referred to is doubtless the sculptured Buddha; but the latter stands alone on the front. The back has incised scenes from the birth cycle; the top of the nimbus is broken, but there are traces of an upper group, which presumably was another Śākyamuni with four flanking figures. It is most difficult to find a reasonable place for the Seven Buddhas, unless they were spaced within the narrow band of flames on the front (lines 12, 16).[25]

An Eastern Wei inscription of 547 refers to a monk's having made two stone images (line 32). Only the base remains, and so it is impossible to tell whether the pair showed two Buddhas, who would probably have been Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna (as the "Lotus" describes them); or two Bodhisattvas, who might have indicated the celestial and terrestrial aspects of Maitreya's career.[26] It is probably irrelevant that the monk prayed for rebirth in the Western Paradise.

An Eastern Wei inscription of 547 tells that a group of twenty-four men "made a stone chamber, five feet on a side, in which were fashioned three Buddhas, six Bodhisattvas, and Ānanda and Kāśyapa." Ōmura knew this stele only through its rubbing, which he describes as 1.35 *shaku* high by 0.45 wide and containing three niches, with a total of eighty-eight figures (lines 12, 18).[27] The object itself was then at P'ing-ting-chou in Shansi.

Another Eastern Wei dedication dated 547 tells that a group of nuns made "a stone Śākyamuni with two Bodhisattvas, celestial Nāgas, a precious pagoda, and the Eight Classes [of Beings], for the sake of the Emperor and his consort (line 12).[28] This text was quoted, without description, from a Chinese anthology. The last category is a surprising one, since the Eight Classes are so far as I know not represented in any surviving Six Dynasties sculpture. If they were not mentioned in other texts of the time, it would be a temptation to argue that their presence in the inscription meant no more than a literary flourish: the phrase "celestial Nāgas and the Eight Classes" is a standard one in the Māhayāna scriptures to describe the supernatural elements in Śākyamuni's audiences.

An Eastern Wei stele dated 549 records the making of four Buddhas and four Bodhisattvas, adding a prayer for rebirth in the West, in the land of the Buddha Amitāyus (lines 17, 18). In this case also Ōmura knew only the rubbings; he quotes from a Chinese anthology a statement that the stele belonged to a collector in Shansi. He describes the stone as 1.5 *shaku* high by 1.0 wide, having a triad on front and rear and a single seated Buddha on each end.[29]

A Western Wei stone dated 551 tells of making four images, to wit Dipaṃkara, Śākyamuni, Maitreya, and Samantabhadra (lines 4, 14, 27,

23 Ōmura, pp. 264–265.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 269.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 276, fig. 568; reproduced also in Siren, *Sculpture*, II, pls. 184–185.
26 Ōmura, p. 271.
27 *Ibid.*, pp. 271–272.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 272. Cf. my Sung entry 31.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

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31). This piece is fortunately in the Kyōto University collection, and is illustrated by Ōmura.[30] It is a squat block 1.7 *shaku* high, topped by a simulated square canopy and standing on a high base. In between, the corners have been cut away, leaving a central shaft with sculpture on its four sides. The general effect is something like a miniature central pier in a cave shrine, of the type first seen at Kung-hsien early in the sixth century. Both the iconography and the figure style are unusual. The figures are plump and squat; Maitreya sits as a Bodhisattva in Western fashion, Samantabhadra rides his elephant in profile, and Dipaṃkara stands between two monks. At the same time the date, 551, falls in a period of transition when wide extremes were possible, so that the piece should probably be considered precocious rather than questionable.

The eighteen figures of Śākyamuni belonged to a hexagonal pillar, dedicated in 538 under the Eastern Wei. The inscription claims that it was originally nine feet tall; now only a fragment 1.5 *shaku* high remains (line 8), in a collection in Shantung. Ōmura's rubbings showed a seated figure on each of five sides, and a standing triad on the sixth.[31]

Ōmura includes in his corpus an inscription bearing an Eastern Wei stele of 537, dedicated to the Bodhisattva Veda or Wei-t'o.[32] I have omitted the stone, as a possible forgery. To the best of my knowledge, Wei-t'o is otherwise unheard of in early China; while he became the most popular of all Buddhist guardians in the arts of Ming and Ch'ing.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 294, fig. 577. Cf. the uninscribed stone in fig. 601, with a comparable design.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 254. For Wei-t'o, see Werner, *Dictionary*, pp. 553 to 554.

10. *Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou, 550–581:*	Chou	Ch'i	Lung-men
1. Akṣobhya		1	
2. Amitābha, single		1	1
3. Amitābha, paired	1	1	
4. Amitābha, with Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta		1	
5. Amitāyus, single	2	1	
6. Amitāyus, with Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta		2	
7. Amitāyus, with two Bodhisattvas		1	
8. Dīpaṃkara, single		1	
8. Dīpaṃkara, with Śākyamuni, Maitreya		1	
10. Dīpaṃkara, with Seven Buddhas, two Bodhisattvas, priests, Maitreya, Brahmā, Indra		1	
11. Prabhūtaratna		1	
12. Śākyamuni, single	13	9	4
13. Śākyamuni, of the Ten Quarters		1	
14. Śākyamuni, (cf. line 9)		1	
15. Śākyamuni, with two Bodhisattvas		1	1
16. Śākyamuni, with Bhaiṣajyarāja and others		1?	
17. Vairocana, single		15	
18. Vairocana, with two Bodhisattvas		2	
19. Two Buddhist and Taoist images, with Bhaiṣajyarāja, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra	1		
20. Seven Buddhas (cf. line 10)		1	
21. 1000 Buddhas		1	

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	Chou	Ch'i	Lung-men
22. Avalokiteśvara, single	5	18	
23. Avalokiteśvara, paired		1	1
24. Avalokiteśvara, with Mahāsthāmaprāpta (cf. lines 4, 6)		3	
25. Bhaiṣajyarāja (cf. lines 16, 19)	1	1?	
26. Maitreya, single	3	15	1
27. Maitreya, as reborn here below (included in line 26)		4	
28. Maitreya, paired		2	
29. Maitreya, facing four ways, with Ānanda, Kāśyapa, Bodhisattvas, angels		1	
30. Maitreya (cf. lines 9, 14)		2	
31. Mañjuśrī (cf. line 19)	1		
32. Mañjuśrī with Vimalakīrti		1	
33. Samantabhadra (cf. line 19)	1		
34. Two Bodhisattvas			1
35. "Contemplative figures" or "Princes"		5	
36. Brahmā and Indra (cf. line 10)		1	
37. Kapila and Nārāyaṇa		1	
38. "Images"	28	132	
39. "Images" facing four ways	3	2	
40. "Images" with two Bodhisattvas		1	
41. "Images" six		1	
42. "Images"		1	
43. "Images" 1000		1	

The "six stone images" occur on a hexagonal pillar, 2.4 *shaku* high and dated 550 by Ch'i reckoning, which in Ōmura's day belonged to a collection in Lo-yang (line 41). His description tells that there is a niche at the top of each of the six sides; the broadest side (for the hexagon is irregular) holds the largest niche, with two standing flankers and two lions; the others contain only a single seated figure.[33]

Four separate inscriptions, surviving on bases of approximately the same size, have the same Northern Ch'i date – the fifteenth day of the intercalary month of 556 – and the same donor's name, Kao Liao.[34] They are dedicated to four Buddhas, Akṣobhya, Amitāyus, Maitreya, and Śākyamuni, obviously with the intention of forming a specific group; presumably one version of the Buddhas of the Four Quarters (lines 1, 5, 12, 26). This supposition rests on the presence of Akṣobhya, a deity whose one claim to attention was that He represented the East. His complement was of course the lord of the West, Amitāyus; with this beginning the Buddhist imagination was flexible enough to permit Maitreya and Śākyamuni to assume relationships of convenience with the other two directions. The donor, who bore the title of Prince of Chao-chün, was a nephew of the king-maker Kao Huan who had founded the Eastern Wei, and so first cousin to the first Northern Ch'i Emperor, Huan's son Yang. His biography records no other connection with Buddhism than the ironic fact that he was murdered at a Buddhist temple, called Ch'iao-li after the name by

[33] Ōmura, pp. 314–315.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

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which the Chinese knew the Kushan Emperor Kaniṣka's famous tower at Peshawar.[35]

Szechwan had been seized from the faltering Liang regime by a Western Wei expeditionary force in 552, and was inherited by the Northern Chou. Ōmura quotes the text of a stele dated 557, by the Chou reckoning, preserved in a "colossal Buddha cave" in Chien-chou.[36] The donor, a Chou general with a long string of military titles, Ch'iang Tu-lo, speaks of having set up on behalf of "Wen Wang" (i. e. the king-maker Yü-wen T'ai, 506–557, whose son Chüo became the first Chou ruler[37]) "two holy Buddhist and Taoist images" (line 19). The inscription goes on to eulogize T'ai at length, and then repeats the dedicatory record in greater detail. "On the Prince's behalf has been made a Treasure Hall for the two holy Buddhist [and Taoist] images. Bhaiṣajyarāja is at their left and Samantabhadra at their right; Mañjuśrī stands in attendance alongside. From the two wings flying angels and new-born souls soar upward; lions roar on the dado, and the 'hundred spirits' (the guardians?) show themselves in awesome [forms]" (lines 19, 25, 31, 33). Unfortunately the character for "Taoist" has been omitted in this second mention, leaving a text that says literally "Buddhas, two holy." A pair of Buddhas is in no other inscription referred to in such terminology, however; and the phrase "two holy ones" seems at this time to have been reserved for the syncretic cult that adored Śākyamuni and Lao-tzu together.

A Northern Ch'i stele of 559 bears the name of a later Prince of Chao-chün, [Kao] Shao-hsing, who had had two images of Maitreya made (line 28).[38] Ōmura seems to have known this only as the rubbing of a stele 1.2 *shaku* high and 0.88 *shaku* wide, which held – confusingly enough – a niche with five figures. The stone itself was said to be in Hopei, at a certain Ch'i-lin-yüan in Ling-shou-hsien.

Ōmura quotes, without any description, a Northern Ch'i stele of 559 that records the making of "ten figures of the Śākyamunis of the Ten Quarters" (line 13).[39]

Another stone with a Ch'i date in the same year, which Ōmura seems to have known only through a rubbing of the base, 0.35 *shaku* high by 0.65 wide, speaks of a monk's having made "an image of Vairocana among the human beings of this Dharmadhātu (i. e. of this world)." This is a more specific version of the phraseology that I have elsewhere translated as "an image of a Buddha in the flesh"; see Sung entry 11, Wei entry 18.[40]

Another base, described as 0.35 *shaku* high and with a Ch'i date of 560, records a dedication by seventy-five townsmen of "a figure of a pair of Avalokiteśvaras (sic; line 23)."[41]

A stone stele found in Shantung, with a Ch'i date of 563, speaks of making a sixteen-foot *iron* image.[42]

Ōmura quotes from a Chinese anthology, without description, the title of a Ch'i inscription of 563 recording the making of three stone Buddhas, Śākyamuni, Dīpaṃkara, and Maitreya (lines 9, 14, 30).[43]

A stele with a Ch'i date of 564, which Ōmura describes as being 3.0 *shaku* high and 1.9 wide, contains a long, partly obliterated inscription.[44] The first mention is of a "white jade stone image one *jen* tall," dedicated by a group of one hundred men. Then follow four characters that read

35 *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xiii, pp. 1rff.; *Pei Shih*, li, pp. 1rff.

36 Ōmura, pp. 362–363.

37 For T'ai and Chüo, see Giles' nos. 2537, 2533; Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1209, 1234.

38 Ōmura, p. 325. *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xii, contains the biographies of four princes whose given names began with the character Shao. They were sons of the first Emperor, and probably elder brothers of our donor, who must have received the Chao-chün fief after his cousin Liao's murder.

39 Ōmura, p. 326.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 327.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 327.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 358–359.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 331.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 331–332. The *jen* was a unit of measure, then long obsolete, that had had different lengths at different periods.

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"Śākyamuni facing south"; nine obliterated characters; a partially effaced phrase that I render (without complete confidence) "the forms of... Bhaiṣajyarāja, Mañjuśrī with my lord Vimalakīrti, and the double (or multiple)[45]... angels scattering flowers; there is nothing lacking; Bodhisattvas floating in the air..." (lines 16, 32).

A Northern Chou stele of 564, with another very long inscription, speaks of making "images facing in the four directions" through the donations of a group of a hundred and fifty townsmen. In this case Ōmura seems to have known the object only through a Chinese anthology. He calls it a stele 6.7 *shaku* high by 2.5 wide, with several niches on each face, located at P'u-ch'eng in Shensi.[46] The donors are subdivided according to the parts of the work to which they had made special contributions, and in this way we are given a glimpse (though a rather confusing one) of the layout of the four faces. For the south face are mentioned: an image in the upper niche, another in the middle niche, a large image, and an image of Śākyamuni. For the north face are mentioned an upper niche image and a Maitreya. The text thereafter may be garbled; at the end of a long list of minor donors we meet first the name of the man responsible for an Avalokiteśvara image, and then the name of a general who headed the group responsible for the east face. This same verbal pattern is repeated later, giving first the donor of an Amitāyus image and then the leader of the group responsible for the west face. The inversion does not seem to have troubled Ōmura, for he assumes that the inscription proves the presence of the four named figures, Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, and Amitāyus, on the south, north, east, and west sides respectively. If so, the scheme was unconventional in equating Avalokiteśvara with the Buddhas. He would have assumed the position which in the four-statue group of 556 had been taken by the traditional Buddha of the East, Akṣobhya, and which in the next century was to be transferred to a newly popular Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru. Perhaps the unusual dignity given him here in 564 reflected both his great popularity, and a general uncertainty as to how the four quarters should be apportioned. Because of the degree of doubt involved, I have not linked the four figures as a group in the statistical table.

A Ch'i stele of 567 in Honan, which Ōmura describes (via its rubbing) as being 2.8 *shaku* high and 3.4 wide, records that a group of donors "with one common resolve joining their separate minds and with their longing gaze bent on the sacred remains, had been able to make in all reverence upon the aureole of an image of Dīpaṃkara treasure-niches for the Seven Buddhas, together with two Bodhisattvas and the wise and saintly monks, Maitreya incarnate here below, Brahmā and Indra, and more than one reliquary [?]. The gleaming golden countenance lights up the three thousand [universes]... (line 10)."[47] At the end of the long list of donors are the names and incised drawings of the guardians Kapila and Nārāyaṇa.

A small stone base, with a Ch'i date of 567, records "the building of a stone pagoda, with an icon painted in outlines, and the carving of stone images of Śākyamuni and the Bodhisattvas, done with a cunning as wonderful as Master [Lu] Pan's."[48]

A small stone base dated in the Ch'i T'ien-t'ung era (565–569), which Ōmura sets in the 569 group (apparently for no other reason than convenience, since the crucial year character is illegible) speaks of "making in all reverence Dragon-flower facing-four-ways niche images, Ānanda and Kāśyapa, Bodhisattvas, and various angels... (line 29)."[49] I do not see how this can

[45] See Quotations, N.
[46] Ōmura, pp. 366–367.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 337–338.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 339–340. For the legendary master-craftsman Lu Pan, see Giles' no. 1424; Werner, *Dictionary*, pp. 281–282; or text references assembled by Ōmura, pp. 27–28.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

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be interpreted except as a reference to images of Maitreya facing in the four directions. The stone itself is unfortunately not described.

A Ch'i stele of 570 with a long and elaborate inscription, on the other hand, is well known and has been published several times,[50] by archeaologists who have visited the famous temple of Shao-lin-ssu in Honan. A very literary and allusive text makes a reference to the way "the youth Sumatī lay in the mud and spread out his hair [before the Buddha Dīpaṃkara], and Bhaiṣajyarāja's decision [to worship the Buddha of his time by burning his own body] rose to Heaven and brought about a rain of [celestial] blossoms." An association of forty odd men "sought out a fine jade-[like] stone from Lan-t'ien, a veritable gem of high value, and in all reverence made a representation of the divine appearance." The inscription goes on to praise the carving, painting, and gilding. Through the names of those responsible for them, we learn of images on the north side (i. e. the rear) and on the front, and an incarnation of Maitreya here below. The stele has a dragon top; in the panel between the legs are found, on the rear, an indecipherable group, and on the front a triad, two standing Bodhisattvas flanking a Bodhisattva seated in Western fashion. This last is the "incarnation of Maitreya." The main panel is a very elaborate one centering on a squatting Buddha, presumably Śākyamuni, flanked by pairs of monks, Bodhisattvas, and Pratyeka Buddhas (?),[51] and by a pair of Vajrapāṇis below. The whole illustrates the capriciousness of the inscription composers of the time, and the difficulty of drawing accurate conclusions from what they say. It is not the principal figure group but a secondary one that is named; and the deeds performed by Sumatī and Bhaiṣajyarāja are merely mentioned and not illustrated.

A Ch'i base of 573, which Ōmura knew only through its rubbing, speaks of making two jade images of Amitābha,[52] with four lions, and one votive censer. The same discouraging situation applies in the case of another Ch'i base, this dated 575, which bears the cryptic phrase "have reverently made one jade-stone figure of a pair of Maitreyas."[53]

The remaining sculpture of this period shows a larger group of figures — usually five or seven principals — than the typical three of Northern Wei. That this expansion affected the Amitābha-Amitāyus triad as well as the others is proved by an exceptionally large Ch'i stele dated 573, which originally stood in a temple in Ching-chou-fu, Shantung, and recorded the making — through the pious generosity of a Prince of Lin-huai, whose family had married into the imperial house — of "a figure of the Buddha Amitāyus, thirty-nine feet tall; together with the two Lords Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and flanking attendants."[54]

A small Ch'i base of 565, finally, with a long text full of mis-written characters, contains a puzzling reference that I have not included in my statistical table. The donors here recorded that they had "reverently made one *śala* image; skilfully carving a True Visage in no way different from that which was born from the right flank [of Māyā]; and cunningly engraving the harmonious [circle of?] a halo indistinguishable from one that the Fire-child [Agni?] himself might have shown."[55] Both the mention of the miraculous birth and the name *śala* point to Śākyamuni, who entered Nirvāṇa under a pair of *śala* trees. The statue was probably not his re-

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 343–344, fig. 635; Tokiwa and Sekino, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 152–153, pls. 125–126.

[51] They wear a quasi-monastic dress, while their hair is piled in the conical fashion that seems to have been used in this period to identify the Pratyeka Buddhas, those who had attained a personal salvation without concern for others, and so had only an inferior status.

[52] Ōmura, p. 352.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 349–351. The donor's biography is in *Pei Ch'i Shu*, xv, p. 2v, appended to that of his father, Lou Chao.

[55] Ōmura, p. 355.

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cumbent figure, which is virtually unknown in Chinese sculpture of this period. The remaining possibility is that it represented the Buddha preaching his last sermon, the famous *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Stelae with a setting of two symmetrical trees form a distinct sub-type in the Northern Ch'i period, though they almost always frame one or even two seated Bodhisattvas — presumably Maitreya — rather than a squatting Buddha. Ōmura's lost or inaccessible stone may have looked something like the well-known bronze altarpiece of 593 in the Boston Museum, where two trees support a canopy-like boskage.[56] The Buddha there is Amitābha; but since neither he nor Maitreya had any special claim to twin trees, the type probably originated in a Śākyamuni theme for which Ōmura's inscription is our only remaining evidence.

A few comments on inscription-writing in general may be of interest. The fifth century records are for the most part brief and to the point. (Most of them, to be sure, occur on bronze figurines with little available space for writing; but the Northern Wei, at least, allowed their gigantic effort at Yün-kang to be completed with virtually no inscriptions). A small Sung gilded bronze Buddha, for example, is dated 437, to the month and day, and continues to say only that "the disciple Han Ch'ien has reverently made this Buddha image, with the prayer that his deceased father and mother, his wife, his son, and his brothers, may meet the Buddhas, and ever dwell together with the Three Treasures."[57]

In the 480's the Northern Wei policy of turning Buddhism into an organ of the state begins to be reflected in prayers of dedication which now include the ruler and sometimes even the bureaucracy as beneficiaries, along with the family. With the transfer of the capital southward to Lo-yang, the inscriptions at once become much more "literary" in the Chinese sense, increasing greatly in length and taking on all the paraphernalia of Six Dynasties style. A good many typical features are incorporated in an inscription of 498 in the Ku-yang cave at Lungmen:[58]

"If the sacred remains were not revealed, those who would cleave to nobility would seek it in vain; if images of the Countenance were not exhibited, reverence for it would assuredly [wane?]. That is why the True [Visage was made manifest?] in times past, and why [the Buddha] form was left behind, to be made known to posterity; and thus it was that under the Great Tai this good work was undertaken. The monk Hui-ch'eng, realizing that he has been born into a glorious epoch, when the black-robed order [i. e. the Church] has been cleansed by such reflections [of the Buddha form], has followed unreservedly [the dictates of his] devout heart in making a rock-cut cave on behalf of the realm; [hoping thereby?] to respond in some slight degree to the imperial graciousness, and to give encouragement to future works [of the same kind].

"My father served as a commissioner bearing the imperial credentials, [held the title of] *kuang-lu ta fu*, and was Governor of Lo-chou and Duke of Shih-p'ing. He passed away not long since, and as I turned my gaze upward upon his compassionate countenance, I was overcome by sadness; before my [eyes] were only the black birds [of evil omen]. In consequence I have had fashioned one stone image, praying that my deceased father may in spirit fly above the three [realms?], and that his understanding may encompass the Ten Quarters of space . . . an illumination of the mystery so that all the myriads [of beings?] may be enlightened thereby; causing the divine wisdom [to reveal itself] in echoes so that all the universe may thereby be . . . May those of an earlier generation,

[56] Often reproduced; e. g. in Siren, *Sculpture*, pls. 319–321.
[57] Ōmura, p. 140.

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 190–191; *Ryūmon*, no. 579, pp. 298–299; Chavannes, *Mission*, pp. 475–476. For the text of the first paragraph, see Quotations, O.

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the monks who were my teachers, my father and mother and their household soar like the *feng* phoenix to the place of enlightenment, and mount like the *luan* phoenix to the Tuṣita Heaven. If they should reawaken in some lower state among men, [may it be in those courts where] the three acacias show their separate beauties, or where the nine jujube-trees spread out like clouds [i. e. among the ranks of the "three dukes" or the nine classes of functionaries]. May the hosts of creatures in the Five Conditions [of life] all [benefit] in like manner from this prayer."

Many of the later Northern inscriptions are exceedingly long. Part of this expansion was due to the practise of taking subscriptions for a new image (or cave-shrine, or pagoda, or Buddha hall) from a great many donors, all of whose names had to be recorded in the order of their generosity or social importance, with whatever titles they might bear. Another large increment must have come from the verbosity natural to late Six Dynasties prose everywhere. There is a vast amount of padding; the reader must push his way through long strings of allusions, the more obscure and pedantic the better; the language is highly artificial, and often archaic. Much of this is untranslatable, and most of it is worth no more than a cursory glance. There are, at the same time, a number of recurring themes that can be examined in isolation from the rest, and deserve at least a brief mention.

The typical prayers of the period almost always contain as their crucial clause a statement of hope for rebirth either in the Western Paradise of Amitāyus or in Maitreya's golden age. Not infrequently, however, the phrases used to express the prayer for eternal blessedness are not properly Buddhist at all, either because the writer was not wholly converted or because he preferred the flavor of a more traditional terminology. Thus Ōmura quotes an inscription of 526 from an unidentified cave at Lung-men in which the donor speaks of having made an image of Avalokiteśvara on behalf of his deceased daughter, a nun; his hope is that "she may ascend to the Purple Zenith, and be forever after a stranger to suffering."[59] The euphemism used here recalls the Han belief in a Paradise located at the Pole-star, presided over by the Ruler of Heaven. The same allusion recurs on a Northern Ch'i stele of 557, where the whole prayer takes a form that seems the result of literary artifice rather than dogma. A group of laymen ask that "the monks who have been their teachers, [and their ancestors] for seven generations back, may be enabled to mount in spirit to the Purple Palace, while their bodies ascend to the realm of perfection [i. e. to Paradise]."[60] The demands of parallelism, again, probably determined the wording of an inscription of 502 from the Ku-yang cave. "May those of the previous generation, our father and mothers, with our brothers and sons as well, in the after-life soar in spirit through the Nine [Tiers of] Space, while their paths mount into the Ten Regions."[61] This is the sort of arbitrary juggling with numbers that we have met in the eulogies composed by the Liang Prince who ruled as Ch'ien Wen Ti:[62] The Ten Regions were a proper Buddhist destination, but the number nine must have again been borrowed from native tradition; Han cosmology had taught that the heavens were separated into nine tiers.

So confusing must have been the claims and counter-claims of the rival Paradise sects, finally, that it is not surprising to meet a type of prayer designed to avoid the awkward choice between them. A stele inscription of 499 tells that the donor, a monk, "has made one stone image of Maitreya, praying that those of the preceding generation, his parents with their household and the monks who were his masters, may be reborn in the land of the Buddha Amitāyus in the west, [or?] where the Three Meetings will be held [by

[59] Ōmura, p. 228.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 323.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 192–193; *Ryūmon*, no. 583, pp. 299–300.
[62] See my Liang entries 20, 21.

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Maitreya] to preach the Dharma under the Dragon-flower Tree; or if they are to be reborn here below among men, may [their lots] fall among the nobility, and in some place where they are contemporaries with some great Bodhisattva."[63]

The division of financial responsibility between a great number of donors — usually organized into a religious association — led to the need to record not only their names, but also the particular shares assumed by individuals or subgroups. We have already seen how this careful documentation may make it possible to identify the different figure groups on the elaborate stelae of the second and third quarters of the century; blocks of donors will be associated with the figures on the north, east, south, and west faces, or with named Buddhas.[64] The general titles assigned reveal a hierarchy of leaders and led within the association; others fill in for us, at least in broad outline, some of the secondary requirements that accompanied a major image-making. We find, for example, that some persons might assume responsibility for the maigre feasts that were held as a means of collecting subscriptions, or to celebrate the completion of the work. Others might furnish the stone for the image or stele, or provide it with a *t'ien kung*, a shrine in architectural form symbolizing the palaces of the gods (which must have borne some likeness to the Tamamushi Shrine preserved in Japan). Donors were given special mention, also, because they had paid for the "light-opening" rite of consecration, at which the pupils of the eyes were dotted in; or had assumed the expenses of its worship, presumably by paying for the banners, the ritual furniture, the incense, lamps, etc. that were required.[65]

In harmony with this business-like accounting is the emphasis placed in the later inscriptions on the high quality of the work achieved. Here the sixth century writers were again following a tradition that may be traced back at least as far as Han; a quite adequate prototype for their formulae exists, for example, on the stele set up by the sons of Wu Liang (who died in A. D. 151) in the Wu family cemetery in Shantung.[66] The stone used is very often called "white" or "jade" or "white jade", presumably referring to the kind of marble that today is best known among Northern Ch'i remains. Occasionally a specific mountain quarry, which must have been famous at the time, is named. We read of the importation of "celebrated" or "skilled" craftsmen, and of the beauty achieved by their cutting, polishing, gilding, and painting. The completed statue is eulogized in the most fulsome terms, either Indian or traditionally Chinese. Particularly in the latest stelae the panegyric is apt to describe also the picturesque loveliness of the temple setting newly provided or refurbished in the image's honor.[67] In a number of inscriptions, comparisons are drawn with the great donations and makings of the first age of Buddhism in India. The donors of a beautiful site are inevitably compared to Anāthapiṇḍada, who gave his gold so freely to purchase the Jetavana garden for the Buddha's use.[68] Architectural analogies are drawn from the *stūpas* raised by King Aśoka, or from the giant tower of Kaniṣka at Peshawar.[69] Statue-makers are associated with their sainted predecessors in the Buddha's lifetime, Kings Prasenajit and Udyāna.[70] The "shadow" image left in the cave in "North India" is cited as setting a standard of truthfulness for all later representations of the divine form.[71] One Western Wei eulogy mentions the "pictured images set out in

63 Ōmura, p. 199.

64 See above, pp. 133.

65 Typical examples given by Ōmura on p. 241, lines 5, 6, 7; p. 253, lines 1–10; p. 261, lines 8, 9, 10, 11; p. 271, line 9; p. 291, lines 10ff.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 55; Chavannes, *Mission*, I, pp. 105–106.

67 For typical examples, see Ōmura, pp. 242, 260, 263, 268, 273, 277, 289, 323, 338, 342, 343, 346, 370.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 343.

69 *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 268, 289, 348.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 268, 339. For the Indian predecessors, see my Appendix on "The Best Known Indian Images," pp. 259ff.

71 *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 262, 267. See Appendix, pp. 265ff.

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order by Maudgalyāyana" to tell the story of the Buddha's life, and to break the news of his entry into Nirvana to King Ajātaśatru.[72]

An oddly chosen Chinese prototype for the devout image-maker is mentioned twice: the legendary "Master of the Heaths, who loved dragons" and so had them represented all over the walls of his house.[73]

One striking feature of a number of the most ambitious inscriptions is their inclusion of an apology for image-making. The need for an explanation must have been no less obvious to intelligent Chinese Buddhists in the early centuries of their faith than it had been to intelligent pagans in the Greco-Roman world, or was to conscientious early Christians. Indeed, the gap between the two extremes, the ineffable transcendence and the gross, man-made replica of a human body, was theoretically even greater in Buddhism than in Christianity. There were no Buddhist scriptures to state that God had made man in His own image; or to insist both on the incarnation of Śākyamuni and His identity with a divine Father. While some *sūtras* claimed to trace a way of visualizing the divine form with the aid of images, that led directly to true seeing, face to face, others flatly denied any such possibility.[74] The liveliest currents of Buddhist philosophy during the period defined ultimate reality in terms of *śūnyatā*, the void, nothingness. We have met already one typical apology, in the panegyric composed by Shen Yo for an image made at the time of the Southern Ch'i ruler's death in 482:[75] and have seen the issue used to justify the iconoclastic policy of Northern Chou.[76] The whole problem was summed up in the Chou Emperor's dictum: "The true Buddha is beyond representation, for He resides in the Great Void; the distant reverence that we feel for Him should be revealed in our hearts."

The only possible answer was a pragmatic one: the image is an essential instrument, an indispensable concession to human frailty. As expressed in literary Chinese this idea may be traced at the beginning of an inscription of 517 from the Ku-yang cave at Lung-men:[77]

"The profound[est] principles are void and remote; their sphere is far removed from the frontiers of this filthy [world]. The divine pattern is a sublime emptiness; its principles are inaccessible in this realm of dirtiness. But if one did not use the visible devices of art to make manifest a radiant likeness, or rely on oral teaching to disseminate the wondrous rules of the faith, how could anyone turn in emulation toward the most perfect of symbols, or imitate the divine achievements?"

One of the references mentioned above to the Master of the Heaths makes clear the function of the image as a bridge leading toward reality. A very long Western Wei inscription of 540, grouping him together with Kings Udyāna and Aśoka and the disciple Maudgalyāyana, sums up his special importance thus: He was "a great lover of dragons, who was so moved by their likenesses in jade that he saw a real one."[78] Two comments may be made here. One involves the similarity of the idea suggested to an apology for image-worship composed by the Neo-Platonist Olympiodorus at Alexandria in the same century (which for the sake of elegance I quote from Charly Clerc):

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 289. For this curious addition to the Buddha's story, see Soper, "Early Buddhist Attitudes toward the Art of Painting," *Art Bulletin*, XXXII, 2, 1950, p. 149.

[73] Ōmura, pp. 242, 289; cf. A. Waley, *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, New York, 1923, pp. 37–38.

[74] In the "Diamond Cutter" *sūtra*, for example, the disciple Subhūti is made to state: "It is impossible that by means of His physical body the Lord Buddha may be clearly perceived." See p. 17 in the *Diamond Sūtra*, translation by W. Gemmell, London, 1912. This is the *Vajracchedikā Prajñapāramitā*, translated by Kumārajīva: Nanjio catalogue no. 10, *Daizōkyō*, VIII, no. 235, the *Chin-kang Pan-jo-po-lo-mi Ching*, the relevant passage being on p. 751c.

[75] See my Southern Ch'i entry 5.

[76] See above, p. 119.

[77] Ōmura, p. 215; *Ryūmon*, no. 633, p. 306; Chavannes, *Mission*, p. 501. For the text, see Quotations, P.

[78] Ōmura, p. 289.

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"Qu'on ne croie pas que les philosophes adorent des idoles, des pierres, comme si elles étaient divines; mais, de même que nous sommes soumis aux conditions de la sensibilité, et que nous ne pouvons atteindre aisément à la puissance incorporelle et immatérielle, les images ont été inventées pour en éveiller ou en rappeler le souvenir; en les regardant, nous arrivons a concevoir les images incorporelles et immatérielles.»[79]

My second comment is that the Buddhist adaptation of the Master of the Heaths story seems to have either overlooked or to have deliberately reversed its actual moral. As re-told in the Han dynasty by Liu Hsin, the old anecdote had run like this:[80]

"Tzu-kao, the Master of the Heaths, loved dragons. Everything that he draw, everything that he carved, all the sculptured decorations of his mansion were representations of dragons. Once a celestial dragon heard about all this and came down [to pay a visit], thrusting its head in at the doorway while its tail was disposed across the porch. At the sight the Master of the Heaths turned and ran away, scared out of his wits and with a look of panic. For the man was no [real] lover of dragons; what he loved was the simulated dragon, not the true one."

79 C. Clerc, *Les théories relatives au culte des images chez les auteurs grecs du IIme siècle après J. C.*, Paris, 1915, p. 255.

80 From the *Tsa-shih* chapter of his *Hsin Hsü*, as quoted in the dictionary *Tzu Hai*.

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III.

ICONOGRAPHY:

THE TRIAD AMITĀYUS-AMITĀBHA, AVALOKITEŚVARA, MAHĀSTHĀMAPRĀPTA

The early popularity of the Western Buddha and His Paradise in south China is evident in the number of translations of the basic *sūtra* that were made prior to the Liang: one bibliography gives five, another eight. Four survive, to wit:

1. One done by the Kushan Lokarakṣa in the latter half of the second century A. D.[1]
2. A second by the Kushan "Chih-ch'ien" in the second quarter of the third century.[2]
3. A third by Saṃghavarman in 252.[3]
4. A fourth by Kumārajīva around 400.[4]

The first three bear a rather loose resemblance to each other, and to the Sanskrit text of the "Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha" that has been rendered into English for the *Sacred Books of the East* series by Takakusu. Kumārajīva's version is much briefer, and corresponds to Takakusu's "Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha."[5]

All these works praise in ecstatic terms the delights of rebirth in the Western Land. It is of all Buddha-realms the most blessed, they say; supernatural visitors go there continually from all over the universe to admire, and to worship its Lord. Its happy citizens are drawn not merely from this Earth, but from a great number of other Paradises as well, whose most fortunate Bodhisattvas achieve rebirth there. The *sūtras* use the most fulsome and repetitious details to describe the beauties of Sukhāvatī. It is all palaces and gardens, jewels, sweet sounds, delicious odors, flowering trees and crystal-clear waterways. None of the things that vex body or spirit on this Earth exist there. The blessed are at last ineffably comfortable; the very pools in which they bathe turn warmer or cooler at a wish. They are no longer impeded by the law of gravitation, or by the irritating obstacles of terrestrial Nature. They can fly with the speed of thought, or hover in the air with their mansions. The ground there is as level as the face of a mirror. There are no mountains or great rocks, no rivers, no seas. No one there has a woman's body, and so sexual desire is unknown; all are equal, and are more beautiful than any god. All are reborn into the Paradise in spotless purity; not by the disgusting fashion we know, but from within lotus buds that grow in the holy lake.

The Lord who reigns there and preaches to untold millions is more glorious than any other Buddha. He is called Amitābha to describe the immeasurable light that He radiates, and Amitāyus to signify that His life span is beyond measuring. His generosity toward His worshippers is so boundless that in addition to all the other joys of His Paradise He will annihilate for them the last terrors of the death-bed. To those who have lived steadfast in purity, He will *come in welcome* with His host of Bodhisattvas and Arhats, to fill their eyes at the end with an inef-

[1] Nanjio's no. 25, the *Fo Shuo Wu-liang Ch'ing-ching P'ing-teng Chüeh Ching*: *Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 361.

[2] Nanjio's no. 26, the *O-mi-t'o San-yeh-san-fo Sa-lou-fo-t'an Kuo-tu Jen Tao Ching: Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 362.

[3] Nanjio's no. 27, the *Wu-liang-shou Ching: Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 360.

[4] Nanjio's no. 200, the *O-mi-t'o Ching: Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 366.

[5] *Sacred Books of the East*, XLIX, "Buddhist Mahāyāna Sūtras," Oxford, 1894.

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fable glory. To others who have led devout lives as laymen He will grant a dying *vision* of the welcome, identical in appearance with the real one. Even those whose good impulses have been offset by backsliding or unbelief, He will permit to *dream* of Him at the last. All these three grades will share equally in the bliss of the Western Land, in the end; only the last group will have to pass through a purgatorial period of five hundred years. Even there the splendors and comforts will be comparable to those of the more favored Heavens, say Maitreya's Tuṣita; but the souls on probation will be isolated, unable to see the Buddha or hear Him preach until their term has run out.

The summary that I have given is drawn from the three early Chinese versions. Kumārajīva's is noticeably different, particularly in being much shorter and more succinct; in addition, it lacks entirely a number of the essential features present in the others. It has no separation into three grades; the promise of a death-bed welcome is given almost curtly to "any good man or woman who shall hear His name and keep it in mind for from one to seven nights." Amitābha's primacy is less emphatically stated; it is said that not only His name, but also those of other Buddhas of the Six Cardinal Directions (north, south, east, west, zenith, nadir) will bring Their guardianship, and guarantee non-return to the troubles of terrestrial life. Even more conspicuous is the absence of any mention of the two great Bodhisattvas who in the other texts are signalled out as the Lord's adjutants and eventual heirs, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. One possible explanation for these variations would be a double difference in date; though Kumārajīva was the latest of the translators, he may have drawn on a Sanskrit original that was more primitive than any of the others, because it was older. If the other line of development may be traced in China as far back as the later second century, this may well have extended, in the West, into the first; into the age when the first Kushan victories were hammering a polyglot empire into shape.

A roughly accurate check on relative stages of *sūtra* development in the period of transition between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna is given by the changing character of the audiences to which Śākyamuni is said to preach. The two factors involved are: first, a simple multiplication of listeners; and then a gradual shift of emphasis away from the traditional nucleus, the monkish disciples, toward a broader congregation headed by Bodhisattvas. In Kumārajīva's presumably primitive version, the audience is made up of 1250 monk-Arhats, of which the most famous sixteen are named; five named Bodhisattvas; the god Indra, and a Brahman. In Lokarakṣa's there are 1250 monks, seventy-two myriads of Bodhisattvas, five hundred nuns, seven thousand laymen, groups of gods numbering 80,000, 70,000, etc., and thirty-five disciples named as knowing magic and having the power to fly. In "Chih-ch'ien's" there are 2000 monks, with thirty-one named, and countless Bodhisattvas. In the version of Saṃghavarman there are 12,000 monks of great holiness and proficiency in magic, and all the Bodhisattvas of this age of the universe, headed by named ones in two groups of three and sixteen.

Other variations of detail in the series are worth notice. The two earliest translations and Kumārajīva's agree in referring to the Western Buddha as O-mi-t'o, Amitābha. Saṃghavarman uses the Wu-liang-shou, Amitāyus, that was to become thereafter standard in China throughout the Six Dynasties (perhaps because its sense of "endless life" was more attractive to the Chinese). Saṃghavarman again touches the orthodox practise of the Six Dynasties in translating the names of the two great adjutant-Bodhisattvas as "Kuan-shih-yin" and "Ta-shih-chih." His two predecessors, on the other hand, use strange and awkward phonetic equivalents not found elsewhere. The first, which in modern Mandarin must be pronounced "K'o-lou-hsüan," may be

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carried back through a series of legitimate adjustments to a primitive form of the name Avalokiteśvara. The other Bodhisattva is called "Ma-ho Na" or "Ma-ho Na-po" (in Mandarin): an abbreviation for the Sanskrit "Mahāsthāna-prāpta" (which seems to have preceded the more familiar "Mahāsthāmaprāpta").[6]

In the latter half of this chapter I shall discuss in greater detail the changing functions of these two flanking members of the Western Triad. Here it may be observed merely that a very important change separates the second translation from the first. Lokarakṣa describes the pair simply as assistants and emissaries; for "Chih-ch'ien" they are in addition both the Buddha's eventual heirs, and savior deities responsive to human appeals.

A further difference between the first two translations and the third is particularly interesting with reference to art history. In listing the requirements that a layman must satisfy who wishes to insure himself rebirth in Paradise, all three agree that he must keep the commandments, give generously to monks, and worship in the proper ritual way by burning incense and scattering flowers, lighting lamps, and hanging up votive banners. But whereas the earlier two speak in addition of "raising *stūpas* and building monasteries," and in so doing point toward the aniconic past in India, Saṃghavarman's requirement is that the donor must "*raise stūpas and set up images*."[7]

The cult of Amitābha-Amitāyus had another and quite different aspect. For those who were determined to achieve the fullest possible religious experience in *this* life, it taught a way of seeing the Lord at will; not as in a glass darkly but face to face, with all His glory about Him. Here too the extant texts reveal a gradual evolution of the idea. The most elementary stage is apparently that described in the huge commentary to the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva in 402–405 under the title *Ta Chih-tu Lun*.[8] Here the aim to be reached through the power of the *sūtra* is an ability to see *all* the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters, "as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges," to hear Them preach the Law, and to know Their hearts. This is one of the powers achieved through becoming a Bodhisattva, and is carried out in the ecstasy called the Pratyutpanna-samādhi.

There is in addition a *sūtra* named after the Samādhi itself, which was translated by Lokarakṣa under the title *Po-chou San-mei Ching*.[9] The subtitle of the tract reiterates Nāgārjuna's point: it is "the *Sūtra* on the Meditation [that Brings before One] Everything that Exists throughout the Ten Quarters." The text, however, also preaches the desirability of contemplating Amitābha in the West; and promises a vision of His land, Sumati, to anyone who meditates upon it wholeheartedly for a full week.

A third and much more advanced stage is represented by the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing the Buddha Amitāyus," translated by Kālayaśas at the Southern court between 424 and 442.[10] The lateness of this work is apparent throughout. It was obviously written in an attempt to reconcile the two aspects of the cult by presenting them side by side, in as rich and attractive forms as possible. The theme of *rebirth*, to begin with, is driven home by emphasizing at great length Amitāyus' promise of a death-bed escort to Paradise. There are now not three but nine degrees of welcome, precisely scaled to nine degrees of merit. The topmost in the top class, granted to the most righteous and devout of worshippers, brings down the complete heavenly host — the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta

[6] See note 59 below.

[7] Compare parallel passages found in *Daizōkyō*, XII, on pp. 292a, 310b, and 272b.

[8] Nanjio's no. 1169: *ibid.*, XXV, no. 1509. On this aspect of the text, see Sakaino, *Shina Bukkyō Seishi*, pp. 444–445.

[9] Nanjio's no. 73: *Daizōkyō*, XIII, no. 417. Sakaino, p. 446.

[10] Nanjio's no. 198: *Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 365. English translation by Takakusu in *SBE*, XLIX.

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(called Kuan-shih-yin and Ta-shih-chih), countless magically-created Buddha apparitions, monks, and angels. To the dying man Avalokiteśvara will bring a dais of adamant, on which his body will ride back to an instant rebirth in Paradise. At each step downward in the scale of merit some of these perquisites are withdrawn or lessened. The topmost in the middle class will be welcomed without the presence of the two great Bodhisattvas. The topmost in the bottom class, in receiving the seventh welcome, will see not the real Triad but only a magically-created one. The bottom-most level of salvation, accorded to those obstinate sinners whose only redeeming grace is that they have heard Amitāyus' name and – just in time – have called on Him for mercy, will bring down no heavenly beings at all, nor even their semblances, but merely a single golden lotus to carry back the body like a self-propelled hearse. (The theme of Purgatory is expanded in the same way; and while the saint is reborn instantly into the full glories of Paradise, the worst evil-doer must expect to be shut away inside his lotus bud for sixteen *kalpas*, or eons).

In this elaboration of the welcome theme the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing Amitāyus" stands as a successor to the Paradise texts that had been translated in the second and third centuries. Through the interest in *meditation* that its title reveals, on the other hand, it belongs in an entirely different group of *sūtras*, almost all of which were rendered into Chinese during the first half of the fifth. We shall meet below the other members of this group that are relevant to the evolution of early Buddhist art in China, treatises directed toward Śākyamuni, Maitreya, and several Bodhisattvas.[11] Presumably all these works were the result of studies in the techniques of meditation that had been perfected by some school of Western Buddhism in the generation just preceding their arrival in China. It can hardly be an accident that their most important translators, Buddhabhadra, Dharmamitra, and Kalayāśas, were themselves experts in the practise of ecstatic vision. As for the geographical location of the school, again, we may note that both Buddhabhadra and Dharmamitra were known to have lived in "Chi-pin," i. e. Kashmir, the region that sent the great majority of identifiable specialists in meditation to South China. The slightly later Kalayāśas came from "the Western Regions," a phrase that at the time could have pointed either to Chinese or Russian Turkestan, or even to Afghanistan; but that at any rate signified some way-station along the overland route between Northwest India and China.

What I wish to emphasize first in connection with this second group of *sūtras* is implied by the key word in their titles: in Chinese *kuan*, which I prefer to render as "visualize". *Kuan* describes here a special kind of mystical adventure, which can have become possible in the Buddhist world only after the cult of images had been accepted and drawn deep into the center of religious experience. It was at an opposite pole, for example, from the kind of ecstasy that the Chinese had learned from early Taoism: *tso wang*, "sitting and forgetting," the emptying of the mind so that it might be flooded with something nameless and indescribable. *Kuan* means a systematic building-up of visual images, each as complete and precise as possible, in a sequence from the simple toward the complex. In following this step-by-step advance the practitioner was certainly aided by his memories of Buddhist art. The *sūtras* more than once recommend the man-made icon or statue as a natural first step toward realizing the beauty and glory of divinity. If these mental pictures were correctly formed, on the basis of iconographic rules, they were already approximations of the truth; and so to cross the frontier from reason to ecstasy brought no absolute change, but rather an immense widening of the field of vision, and *seeing* instead of mere visualizing.

Among the *kuan sūtras*, the one directed to-

[11] See below, pp. 184, 215, 222.

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ward Amitāyus is the most elaborate and methodical in its exposition of the meditative technique. The lesson is taught within a narrative framework borrowed from an old Hīnayāna tradition. Queen Vaidehī, imprisoned with her devout husband Bimbisāra by their evil son Ajātaśatru, has called in her despair on the Buddha Śākyamuni. That Lord, coming in person to comfort her, teaches a means of spiritual escape, not only from her cell but also from all the fetters of earthly life: a ladder of meditations, at the summit of which she will be able to see as clearly as in a mirror all the beauties of Paradise and all the wonders of a universe peopled by countless Buddhas. The discipline begins with a visualization of the sun setting in the west; and passes through various quasi-material aspects of the Pure Land, its glassy ground, its jewel trees, its enchanting waterways, its towers that rise into an air suffused with celestial music. The Queen is then to visualize the Buddha Amitāyus, approaching His glory step by step; first through the symbolism of the divine lotus, with its innumerable petals and light rays; then a degree closer, to a lotus platform, set with precious stones and supporting four pillars; then closer still, to a precious image seated on a lotus. "Thereupon the eyes of your heart will open, and with complete clarity you will see the priceless splendors of that land of perfect bliss: its jewelled ground, its jewelled waterways, its rows of jewelled trees . . ."[12] On the threshold of the final vision, the adept will construct in his mind the Buddha's gigantic and infinitely luminous body, one attribute at a time. If he can visualize only the *ūrṇā* clearly enough, all the other 84,000 major *lakṣaṇas* will appear.

"Next you must visualize the distinguishing signs and the luminosity of the Buddha Amitāyus'body. Know, O Ānanda, that the body of the Buddha Amitāyus is a hundred thousand million times as golden as the pure sandalwood of the celestial pavilions of Yama. That Buddha's body has a height of sixty myriads of millions of *nayutas*, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. The white tuft between His eyebrows, that curls always to the right, is like the five great Sumeru mountains. The eyes of that Buddha are pure and clear as the water of the four great seas, with the blue and white distinct from each other. From all the roots of the hair on His body issue forth rays of light like Mount Sumeru. That Buddha's round halo is like a hundred millions of the three thousand great chiliocosms; in it are a hundred myriad million of *nayutas* of miraculously-created Buddhas, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges; each and every such Buddha having with Him a host of innumerable miraculously-created Bodhisattvas, to be His attendants. The Buddha Amitāyus possesses 84,000 major *lakṣaṇas;* within each and every one of these are 84,000 minor *lakṣaṇas;* within each and every minor *lakṣaṇa* are 84,000 rays of light, that shine out over all the worlds in the Ten Quarters . . ."

In seeing Amitāyus' body, at last, the adept will also see the bodies of all the other Buddhas throughout the Ten Quarters, and into their innumerable hearts.

As a sequel he will visualize the bodies of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, themselves vast and radiant. These final meditations will secure remission of the sins accumulated through eons in the past, and a sure rebirth in Paradise. The twelfth step will bring a vision of the rebirth itself: the newborn body at first sealed in its lotus, and then, as the petals open, suffused with a dazzling light and melodious sounds.

There are four more steps, making a total of sixteen; but it might be argued that these were added as an afterthought, to reach a perfectly symmetrical final number. The last three draw the two halves of the *sūtra* together rather artificially by treating the degrees of welcome as meditations, taken three at a time. The thirteenth step is a recapitulation of the earlier visual construction of the Buddha's body. Several of its phrases are interesting. It is stated, for example: "Whosoever wishes wholeheartedly to be reborn in the

[12] *Daizōkyō*, XII, p. 343a; Takakusu translation, pp. 178ff.

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West must first visualize a sixteen-foot image on a pool of water... Only to imagine a Buddha image brings immeasurable benefits; how much more when one visualizes a Buddha complete with all His body attributes! Amitābha [sic] Buddha's supernatural powers are so exercised at will that throughout the realms of the Ten Quarters He may show Himself in various ways, now with an immense body filling the sky, now with a small body of sixteen or eighteen feet. The form that He exhibits is always pure gold in color and has magically-created Buddhas in its round halo, and a jewelled lotus."[13]

A fully satisfactory search into the origins of the Amitābha-Amitāyus cult is beyond both the scope of this book and my competence. On the basis of the small fragment of the total evidence that I have examined, however, I propose to hazard a number of suggestions (as I shall do in the case of many of the other deities to be treated below).

In the first place it is clear that both negative and positive reasons suggest a search not so much into India proper as into the northern border regions, on the fringe of Indian cultural expansion. From the negative standpoint it is a telling argument that none of the Chinese pilgrims to India have anything to say about the Western Buddha or His Paradise; He must at the most have been a deity of secondary importance there. The one indication that I know that the cult passed through India in the early centuries is the Liang dynasty record of a brass statue of Amitāyus received (probably in the late fifth century) from Champa, i. e. Southern Indo-China (Sung entry 31). It seems to me just possible that this isolated occurrence may be explained within the terms of my northern border hypothesis. Cultural influences from the West must have reached Champa through the adjoining state of Cambodia, which the Chinese of the time knew as "Fu-nan." We know that the Chin dynasty received a Fu-nan mission in 357 from a King "Chu Chan-t'an" or "Chandana from India." It has been suggested that what seems a proper name here was in fact a royal Kushan title, which had been borne, for example, by Kaniṣka himself; and thus that the Fu-nan ruler may have been an emigré or refugee from the disintegrating Kushan realm in North India. (The Chinese tell us also that during the third century the Fu-nan people had imported fine horses by sea from "the Yüeh-chih country," i. e. the Kushan domain).[14]

On the negative side, again, must be counted the absence of any images certainly identifiable as Amitābha-Amitāyus at any of the pre-Guptan Indian sites. If, on the other hand, his cult did indeed grow to its first strength in the frontier regions, He should have been represented with some frequency in the art of Gandhāra. I believe that at least one iconographic type present in late Gandhāran sculpture was probably assigned to Him: the Buddha shown squatting in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, with a round aureole crowded with miniature standing Buddhas, and a crescent moon — presumably indicating the west — on the front of a canopy overhead.[15]

If the natural workings of the Indian imagination may be seen in the figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu, it is obvious that the personality of the Western Buddha was built up out of a very different set of values. Where They are multi-faceted and universal, all things at once, destroyers as well as creators, as often cruel as kind,[16] He is almost monotonously simple and uniform. All Buddhas are by definition inconceivably wise, powerful, and detached; Amitābha-Amitāyus has all these qualities by virtue of His status, but His

[13] *Daizōkyō*, p. 344b, c; Takakusu, p. 187.

[14] See Briggs, *op. cit.* (title in Southern Ch'i note 3), pp. 22–23; S. Levi, "Kaniṣka et Sātāvāhana," *Jour. As.* ccxxviii, 1936, pp. 80ff.; *Chin Shu*, xcvii, p. 8r.

[15] Two examples from the Takht-i-bāhai site: *Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1907–1908, pl. XLIVa, c, and p. 143.

[16] For the fullest early demonstration of this universality, see the descriptions of Viṣṇu in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (as translated by K. T. Telang in *SBE* VIII, Oxford, 1882, especially, pp. 74, 82–92, 96).

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own, essential nature is even more compactly defined. More than anything else, He is pure benevolence. He is found nowhere except on the great jewelled throne at the center of His Paradise, or riding down through the sky on an instantaneous journey of welcome. He does nothing except exemplify divine mercy, and exhibit Himself to His blessed worshippers, and preach, through an almost endless eternity. Doubtless all this was the result of an amalgam of ideas, in a region where trade and empire-building had brought together a number of powerful religions. It has long since been noticed that some of the salient features of the Paradise creed suggest a Persian origin. In the Western Buddha's character as lord of "boundless light" He suggests Zoroaster's supreme Ahura Mazda. As the lord of "boundless life" He bears the same title as Ameretāt, one of the six Mazdean Amesha Spentas who surround the deity and are in a sense His emanations or attributes.[17] It is hard to believe, furthermore, that a being so completely benevolent could have been conceived in the Near East, in the first or second centuries, without some borrowing from the Christian God. Amitābha-Amitāyus is of course no "Lord God of Hosts," neither "creator of all things" nor "judge of all men." *His* creators, if they knew anything of Jehovah, must have deliberately rejected much that was inconsistent with Buddhist axioms. It is interesting to find that they arrived at a definition very close to that reached, on the Christian side in the second century, by the idealistic heretic Marcion; who preached a Heaven accessible by faith alone, and a "good God" who was all love, and distinguished from the wrathful creator-judge of the Old Testament. The Marcionite heresy was particularly successful in the East, and as late as the fourth century retained a great number of followers, reaching as far afield as Persia. It would doubtless be difficult or impossible to demonstrate the direct influence of either of these cults on the other; more probably their similarities were derived from a common Near Eastern origin.[18]

One of the essential features of the Paradise Buddha's personality is the fact that He presides over a Triad. We meet here an idea that is likely to have been relatively novel throughout the religious worlds of the Near and Middle East. Earlier groups of three divinities, of the sort frequent in the Sumerian culture and its successors, and found more sporadically in Vedic India, had been constructed by associating widely separated powers, like the personifications of heaven, earth, and water. In comparison the Amitāyus Triad was apparently designed to be a perfect example of heraldic symmetry, a single divine power acting through two agents or intermediaries. It suggests the sort of concept that in Assyria had taken shape in the theme of the Tree of Life served by two identical genii. A more literal parallel is furnished by a group of bronze placques from Luristan, roughly datable in the period 1200–900 B. C., where a frontal figure on axis is flanked by two identical smaller figures in profile. Phyllis Ackerman has interpreted the central being as a father god, whose attributes may include a sun mask superimposed on his body.[19] The attendants – shown on one bronze as if emerging from his shoulders – must be his twin sons. As Ackerman points out, the group must be an Iranian equivalent of the familiar Greek mythological family, Zeus, Castor, and Polydeuces (the emerging sons are given conical caps that already suggest the twins'

[17] M. T. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 85 ff., emphasizes in addition the similarity between the Buddhist deification of infinity and that personified on the frontiers of Zoroastrianism, by the god Zurvān.

[18] For Marcion see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1909. The nearly contemporary defender of orthodoxy, Irenaeus, in his "Against Heresies," xxvii, 1–2, traces the theme of the two gods, "one just, the other good," back to a certain Cerdo, who appeared in Rome in the 130's, and who in turn was thought to have been a follower of the enigmatic arch-heretic Simon Magus.

[19] P. Ackerman, "The Gemini are Born," *Archaeology*, 1955, VIII, 1, 1955, pp. 26–30.

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familiar *pilei;* the father is half a giant bird). I shall return to this possible prototype below, in discussing the two Western Bodhisattvas; and we shall see then that other aspects of their divinity point backward to the same twins.

The likelihood that some sort of relationship existed between the Western Buddha and the Christian God the Father, again, is heightened when the similarity between the two triads is taken into account. In the Kushan age there can have been no divine group closer to the Buddhist in composition and functions than the Christian; particularly if one considers the side of Christian belief emphasized by the Eastern Gnostics, in which Christ was imagined much more readily as the Logos, a philosophical pendant to the Holy Spirit, than as the unique incarnate Son. (If this initial likeness has the specific historical meaning that I propose, it is the more interesting that in both religions the original symmetry of the two agents should have been disrupted by the rise of one to an almost complete monopoly).

The complex of ideas found in the Western Paradise itself was certainly interwoven from many sources. A good deal must have been borrowed directly from traditional Indian beliefs about the Heavens of the gods: particularly the theme of the celestial palace radiant with precious materials, and the insistence on the power of the blessed to fly. It should be realized at the start, however, that Sukhāvatī was not a Heaven at all, in the proper sense, but rather another kind of Earth. In the period when it and other happy Buddha-lands were first imagined, five hundred years of Buddhist teaching had dinned into the Indian mind the realization that a Heaven — located somewhere above the Earth, and peopled by gods — was a far from perfect destination for the reborn body. Any Heaven, no matter how blissful, or splendid, or far removed from the troubles and limitations of our world, had inescapable disadvantages. There was always an end to the allotted term of pleasure, though for the very fortunate it might be immensely prolonged; and at that end the only change possible was for the worse. Because their only function in a Heaven was to enjoy, the godlings could not advance to a greater spiritual perfection. They neither had the capacity for improvement in themselves, nor the blessed opportunity to draw perfection from a Buddha. So when their terms ran out and they were caught up again in the Wheel, they were always reborn at a lower level; sometimes disastrously so, when an evil act performed in the immensely distant past at last demanded punishment.

The Mahāyāna answer to this dilemma was brilliantly simple. Its Heavens were brought down to the terrestrial level, where the blest, though they were more beautiful and happier than the gods, were yet human and capable of self-improvement. Their supreme good fortune lay in the fact that they were ruled not by a being greater than themselves only in degree, but by a Buddha, who shared with them uninterruptedly His ineffable wisdom and goodness. From the Buddha-land no one could be drawn back into the evils of the world as we know it; the ties were broken forever. Existence there was to all intents and purposes an eternity of joy. If one was literal-minded enough to insist on the inevitable end, that could only be a departure into the theoretically still higher state of Nirvāṇa.

It is amusing, by the way, to see how the need to stress the terrestrial character of Sukhāvatī led the composers of the Paradise *sūtras* into an absurdity. If a Buddha-land is merely a happier edition of the world around us, they must have reasoned, it must have similar physical characteristics; it must be topped by tiers of Heavens, and completed below by tiers of Hells. One quite natural question is put in Ānanda's words. It has been said, O Lord, that Sukhāvatī is as flat and regular as a mirror, and has no great mountains, nor any central Sumeru. Where, then, can its Heavens be (since the lowest should depend on the world-mountain, and the rest rise step by step above its axis)? The Buddha explains that

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they simply hover in the air; but as to what their inhabitants may be — for even the highest Heaven above Sukhāvatī would be a purgatory — nothing is said. The fallacy involved here must have become apparent at an early date, for if my notes are correct only the earliest Chinese translation exposes it in full nakedness. The others present either an incomprehensible fragment of the original question-and-answer, or else omit it.[20]

The terrestrial character of the Sukhāvatī formula probably helps to explain the close partial similarity between the Māhayāna "happy land" and an apparently earlier Earthly Paradise described in Hīnayāna texts. Indian cosmology had come to include among the knowable parts of the world a remote continent across the ocean, called Uttarakuru, where the lot of man was in every way superior. Uttarakuru can be best imagined as a Garden of Eden after the Fall, untroubled by any expulsion. Its inhabitants led lives of the fullest sensual satisfaction, enjoying a bountiful Nature, a perfect climate, and a sexual license untroubled by any of the inconveniences known in India, or China. Their food and even their clothing and jewels were taken without effort from trees. One account speaks of the continent as having mountains and lakes, but another makes its extreme flatness a way of recognizing it from afar, and so provides one more link to Sukhāvatī.[21]

I do not propose to venture beyond this point into the maze of traditional beliefs about Paradises, either terrestrial or celestial. One detail of the description of Sukhāvatī remains to be discussed, however, and looks very much like a clue to the direction in which further search might be pursued. The *sūtras*' insistence on the fact that no one is reborn into the Western Paradise in a woman's body, so that sexual desire is unknown there, represents a drastic shift away from the naive hedonism of the Uttarakuru myth. It is hard to believe that this change can have taken place in India, where it would have run counter to the most generally-held convictions of the race. This statement obviously requires qualification. Indian holy men have from time immemorial set a very high value on the strictest asceticism. The early Buddhist Church did its best to implant in its monks an automatic revulsion against the pleasures of the flesh. Both Buddhism and Brahmanism agreed that the highest states of rebirth required an absolute divorce from any sort of body as well as from any sort of sensuous pleasure. But these ideals were for the adepts; and one may set against them every sort of evidence to prove that the general run of people were expected to carry their desires with them beyond the grave. The highest Buddhist Heavens, existing in the pure ether without either pleasures or bodies, were probably little more than theological abstractions. The hierarchy of celestial spheres below them, to which the enormous majority of believers must have aspired, was pervaded by sexual pleasure; its admitted supreme ruler was Māra, the god whose activities on earth made him the nearest Buddhist equivalent to Satan. Even the great Bodhisattvas who presided over the Tuṣita Heaven, first Śākyamuni and then Maitreya, were his feudatories; their realm was lower than his, and so its pleasures were grosser. As we shall see, Maitreya's worshippers were promised personal retinues of *houris*.[22] The terrestrial Paradise assigned to the Buddha Akṣobhya in the east, which for a time must have been a competitor to Amitāyus', was imagined in a way much closer to the Uttarakuru scheme.[23] Its women were des-

[20] *Daizōkyō*, XII, p. 291a, c. Cf. p. 270a, and Takakusu's translation, p. 37, where the question is posed in a fragmentary form, as if its absurdity were being glossed over.

[21] See Nanjio's no. 545, the translation of the *Dīrghāgama* made by Buddhayaśas in 412–413 under the title *Ch'ang A-han Ching: Daizōkyō*, I, no. 1, pp. 117ff.; also Nanjio's no. 542, the translation of the *Madhyamāgama* made by Gautama Saṃghadeva in 397–398 under the title *Chung A-han Ching: Daizōkyō*, I, no. 26, p. 495.

[22] See below, p. 215.

[23] See below, p. 168.

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cribed as uniformly beautiful, free from female weaknesses and uncleanliness, and able to give birth without pain. Thus the celibate ideal preached for *all* worshippers in the Sukhāvatī *sūtras* was an extraordinary effort (which, by the way, may have contributed a good deal to the cult's lack of success in India). I believe that more than an accidental similarity is involved in its likeness to Jesus' words:

"For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in Heaven."[24]

The two statements, I think, may be assigned to the western and eastern frontiers of the area in which a fanatical hatred of the flesh was an integral part of religious life; the area in which sects like the Marcionites and Essenes led celibate lives, and which was capable of producing the almost insane bias seen in the Gnostic "Acts."

The Two Bodhisattvas:

The earliest and simplest account of the function of the two great attendants in the Western Paradise is given in the first Chinese translation, Lokarakṣa's.[25]

"Among all the Bodhisattvas these two are the holiest. They are ever throned at the left and right sides of the Buddha of Boundless Purity, sitting in attendance on His just teachings. That Buddha of Boundless Purity is ever seated with those two Bodhisattvas, discussing the affairs of the eight quarters, of the superior and nether realms, and of the past, present, and future. When He wishes to send Them as His envoys to the countless Buddha-lands of the eight quarters and of the superior and nether realms, the two Bodhisattvas fly thither, where They will . . . as swiftly as the Buddhas Themselves."

The same theme reappears two centuries later in a work brought back from India and translated between 420 and about 453 by the North Chinese Fa-yung. This "*Sūtra* on What the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta were Told" describes Them as visiting the Earth on a leave of absence from Amitābha.[26] The two salute Śākyamuni like foreign ambassadors, and exchange compliments and miracles. It is clear that the underlying thought here is secular; the two Bodhisattvas act in the character of privy counsellors to a great king, and so are distinctly secondary figures, in comparison with the Buddha. As we have seen in the preceding discussion, the Paradise *sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva records a stage in the cult's development — perhaps the earliest yet traceable — in which They do not appear at all.

In the second Paradise translation, made during the second quarter of the third century by "Chih-ch'ien," there are two important changes.[27] We are told that in the infinitely remote future when Amitābha will enter Nirvāṇa, Avalokiteśvara is to succeed Him as ruler; and that the latter, in turn, is to be succeeded one doubly distant day by Mahāsthāmaprāpta. In addition we read:

"If among mankind there be any worthy men or women who fall into terror of the officials, they have only to entrust themselves to these Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and they will assuredly be saved."

I know of only one other text in which a closely similar promise is made. (There may, of course, be others that I have not discovered; and still other statements of the kind may have been made that were never translated into Chinese, and so lost their best chance of preservation.) In 420 the Indian scholar Nandi rendered into Chinese a so-called "*Dharaṇi* Spell *Sūtra* that Implores the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to Counteract Evil Influences."[28] Much of this comes from a later stratum of belief in which

[24] Matthew, 22, 30; Mark, 12, 25.
[25] *Daizōkyō*, XII, p. 290a.
[26] Nanjio's no. 395: *ibid.*, XII, no. 371.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 309a, 308b.
[28] Nanjio's no. 326, the *Ch'ing Kuan-shih-yin P'u-sa Hsiao-fu Tu Hai T'o-li-ni Cou Chhing: Daizōkyō*, XX, no. 1043, p. 34b, c.

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Avalokiteśvara *alone* was worshipped as a savior, but an earlier flavor has been retained in the introduction. We are told there that on one occasion when Śākyamuni was preaching in Vaiśālī, the city was suffering from a mysterious epidemic, and a delegation of citizens waited on him to beg aid. His answer was:

"Not far from here, due west, is a world honored Buddha called Amitāyus. He has two Bodhisattvas called Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, who because of Their great pity and sympathy for all are continually giving succour from sorrow and peril. Do you, therefore, prostrate yourselves in honor of these beings. Burn incense, scatter flowers, and keep your thoughts fixed on them for the space of several breaths, not letting your minds wander while you invoke Them ten times. In this way should you implore that Buddha and His two Bodhisattvas on behalf of all creatures."

"As He was speaking, they were able to see in His Buddha-radiance that Western Amitāyus and the two Bodhisattvas coming to their land, to the very gate of Vaiśālī city. The Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas and their vast host shed so great a light that all of Vaiśālī was illumined and made golden . . ."

The later Paradise translation and the Sanskrit versions that have been rendered into English do not repeat this promise. In the fifth century "*Sūtra* on Visualizing the Buddha Amitāyus" the special relationship between Avalokiteśvara and Māhasthāmaprāpta and this Earth is restated in a very different sense. They now head the divine host that swoops down in welcome to the death-beds of the faithful, but they return at once thereafter to their own better land; they are still strangers.

It is in this last *sūtra*, incidentally, that we meet for the first time detailed descriptions of the two Bodhisattvas (parallelling that given for the Buddha). The Paradise texts had merely emphasized the immense size of Their aureoles. Now we are told, first of Avalokiteśvara:[29]

"That Bodhisattva's body is eighty millions of *nayutas* of *yojanas* tall, and is purplish gold in color. At the crown of His head is an *uṣṇīṣa*; at the nape of His neck there is a round halo, the diameter[?] of which is a hundred thousand *yojanas*. That halo contains five hundred magically-created Buddhas, just like the Buddha Śākyamuni, each accompanied by five hundred Bodhisattvas and innumerable gods as His attendants. Within the aureole of light that surrounds His body are manifest the forms and the distinguishing attributes of all creatures in the five paths of existence. On His head is a celestial crown fashioned of wondrous gems, within which is a standing magically-created Buddha, twenty-five *yojanas* tall . . ."

The description continues in the way typical of the *kuan sūtras*, mixing the precise and the fantastic in every sentence. His face is golden; the hairs of His *ūrṇā* are parti-colored and emit 84,000 kinds of rays, each containing countless magically-created Buddhas with Their retinues of Bodhisattvas (this last is a typical *kuan* multiplication miracle). His necklaces are made up of rays . . . The palms of His hands have the color of every kind of lotus. "At the tips of each of His ten fingers there are 84,000 designs, like seal impressions, each design being in 84,000 colors and each color having 84,000 rays. Soft and mild, the said rays illumine all that exists. With these precious hands He holds and draws along all creatures." On the sole of each foot is marked a thousand-spoked wheel, which miraculously turns into innumerable light rays. Wherever He puts his foot down, diamond and pearl flowers spread, covering everything. "All the other major and minor *lakṣaṇas* of His body are perfect and complete, and in no way different from a Buddha's. In only one respect does He fall short of a Buddha; this being the fact that while there is an *uṣṇiṣa* on the crown of His head this attribute is invisible."

[29] *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 343c–344a; Takakusu translation, pp. 181 to 183.

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The description of Mahāsthāmaprāpta emphasizes His equality to Avalokiteśvara. His key iconographic peculiarity is the fact that "His celestial crown has five hundred jewelled lotuses. Each lotus has five hundred jewelled daises; in each dais are manifest, in all their length and breadth, the look of the Paradises of the various Buddhas of the Ten Qarters. The *uṣṇiṣa* on the crown of His head is like a *padma* lotus blossom. On it there is a precious vase, filled with every sort of radiance to make manifest everywhere the Buddha's work."[30]

These two accounts constitute the tenth and eleventh of the sixteen meditations. In the thirteenth, which as we have found is a kind of recapitulation of the experience of seeing the Triad, the visible characteristics of the Bodhisattvas are reduced to their essential minimum.[31] In comparison to the Buddha, who may show Himself vast or small, but is always golden in color, has a halo filled with Buddha-apparitions, and sits on a lotus throne, "Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta have bodies that are the same at all points; but one need only observe Their head attributes to know [which is which]. These two Bodhisattvas assist the Buddha Amitābha in His universal [work of] conversion."

We have seen the two great Bodhisattvas presented in two sharply contrasting roles: first as agents and envoys, following out the orders of Their Lord; and then as rescuers, accessible to the appeals of all humanity. Two generations or so separate the appearances of the two phases in China. In itself this interval is too brief to establish a clear, chronological sequence; it seems to me likely, however, that the "agent" theme, being the simpler of the two, was the first to be grafted onto the essential Buddha, very likely by imitation of the structure of some secular court. It may be parenthetically noted that here too the available evidence points away from India. The Hīnayāna Buddhist texts of this period that so frequently describe the career and the splendid state of a universal monarch, or *cakravartin*, assign him only one great minister, not two.[32] We know, on the other hand, that at state audiences under the Achaemenid regime the Persian ruler was closely attended by two chamberlains, one holding the ceremonial parasol, the other the napkin and fly-whisk.[33] (What seems clearly to be a survival of this tradition may be seen in one of the late Sanskrit verses appended to the chapter of the "Lotus *Sūtra*" that eulogizes the greatness and mercy of Avalokiteśvara. This chapter as a whole belongs to a later phase of the cult than we have so far met, in which Avalokiteśvara has become the supreme savior and His colleague has disappeared. So we find Him pictured as "at one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitābha, whom He is fanning.")[34]

Back of the Achaemenid court usage may lie an Assyrian one, for a relief in the Louvre shows Sargon standing between two profile figures of courtier-ministers.[35] In view of the close interrelationship between royal and religious ceremonial forms, finally, it is interesting to discover that a terra-cotta relief of the second millennium from Assur shows the frontal figure of a fertility god flanked by two much smaller assistants holding conventionalized streams of water.[36] The

[30] *Daizōkyō*, pp. 344a, b; Takakusu, pp. 184–185.

[31] *Daizōkyō*, p. 344c; Takakusu, p. 187.

[32] Typical of many more or less detailed description of the *cakravartin*'s unique privileges and career is the one given in the *Madhyamāgama*, xi, 60: *Daizōkyō*, I, pp. 494bff.

[33] A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire (Achaemenid Period)*, Chicago, 1948, p. 283.

[34] *SBE* XXI, p. 417 (Kern's translation).

[35] Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, New York and London, 1923, fig. 90.

[36] H. Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, London, 1951, p. 54 and pl. VIII. Note that the Babylonian legend of Adapa names as twin door-keepers of Heaven Tammuz and Gishzida, "great lords of increase who vanish from the Earth during the dry summer"; T. H. Gaster, *The Oldest Stories in the World*, New York, 1952, pp. 86–87. M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 547, terms this pair local solar deities and gods of spring.

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scheme, incidentally, is precisely that used on the Chinese stelae of the sixth century that present the images of the Amitāyus Triad. That similarity is of course accidental; but it is natural to wonder whether some obscure current of tradition may not link an early fertility belief of this sort with the persistence of the water theme in the Paradise Bodhisattvas. The distinguishing attribute of Mahāsthāmaprāpta, as we have seen, is a precious vase at the center of His headdress: in addition, both Bodhisattvas may hold vessels.

As to what the source may have been of the rescue theme that was added between the first and second translations of the Paradise *sūtra* — presumably somewhere in the Kushan realm in the later second century A. D. — one possibility seems to me more persuasive than any other. Both the Indian and the Greek worlds had for a very long time been familiar with the idea of twin saviors. The resemblances between the two national versions — the Asvins of the Vedas and Brāhmanas, and the Dioscuroi of Greek myth — are so close that they must have had a common origin, deep in the Aryan past.[37] The pair may be traced back as far as an inscription of around 1380 B. C. at the Hittite capital of Boğazköy; where, along with Mithra and Varuna and Indra, they are invoked as the chief deities of the Aryan kingdom of the Mitanni, to the east. Their first known presentation in art may be the Luristan reliefs with the father-and-sons design analysed by Ackerman that I have mentioned above. They must have begun their careers as stellar personifications. They stood for the morning and evening stars, and by that association acquired white horses like the sun's as attributes, or were even imagined themselves in the form of horses. Presumably because the morning star, in particular, was the herald of the dawn and brought an end to the terrors of darkness, they came to assume the character of rescuers from a wide variety of dangers or misfortunes. They were the friends of the weak and helpless, mighty allies in war, healers of the sick, victors when they chose even against old age. Most of all they were honored as the protectors of travellers, especially at sea: a fact worth underlining because, as we shall see in the following section, when Avalokiteśvara came to be isolated as the supreme savior and His special praises were chanted in the "Lotus *Sūtra*," more attention was paid to His promises of rescue from brigands by land, or from shipwreck, than to any of the others.

One might suppose that Indian tradition could have provided a sufficient background for a transfer of the twin savior idea into Buddhism. I know no evidence, however, that the Asvins were still exerting any powerful influence on the Indian imagination in the centuries when Mahāyāna teachings were being assembled. They were remembered and worshipped by the Brāhmans, certainly, as an integral part of the Vedic treasure. Traditional stories about them were told in the *Mahābhārata*.[38] It seems more significant of their status that the Buddhist scrip-

[37] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917, pp. 207ff. For the Dioscuroi, see especially *Roscher's Lexikon* under that title.

[38] J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, London, 1950; pp. 29–31 under "Asvins" and pp. 73–75 under "Chyavana." A more complete listing under "Asvin" is given by H. Jacobi, *Mahābhārata, Inhaltsangabe, Index, u. Concordanz*, Bonn, 1903. His summary of the vast epic mentions them under only four headings. I, 1 (p. 1) names the twins in their order of creation among the gods, etc. I, 3 (pp. 2, 3) tells how they restored sight to a blinded disciple, Upamanyu, who had appealed to them by chanting a Vedic hymn in their honor. I, 124 (p. 15) shows them bestowing on another suppliant, Queen Mādrī, twin sons who embodied their strength and beauty in human form. Three passages, III, 123, XII, 342, and XIII, 156 (pp. 41, 156 and 174, respectively) deal with the Chyavana story or its sequel, Indra's attempt to forbid the pair any share in the *soma* sacrifice. This is only a tiny fraction of the attention given in the same work to more popular gods, the traditional Indra or the newly supreme Viṣṇu, for example; and probably all four citations form part of the oldest substratum of the *Mahābhārata*. The only suggestion of a trait that might have been passed on to the Buddhist twin saviors is found in Indra's complaint about them: they are not really a part of the company of the gods, since they spend their time wandering to and fro over the Earth, taking any sort of form they please (p. 41).

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tures, which borrowed from the traditional mythology everything that might be in any way useful, are so far as I know completely silent about the Asvins. They were not worth mentioning because as popular deities they were obsolete.

The Dioscuri, on the other hand, were still very much alive, and through the expansion of the Hellenistic and Roman empires had been carried eastward at least to the Indian frontier. Their cult was apparently introduced — or re-emphasized — in the Greco-Bactrian kingdom by the usurper Eucratides in the second century B. C., for he used their figures or their symbols very frequently on his coinage. Later Greek kings who probably ruled in the first century B. C. over what was to be the center of the later Kushan regime, the region around Kabul, continued the same coin types. That the cult survived the disappearance of Greek sovreignty is demonstrated by the reappearance of Dioscuri coins around the time of Christ, under the Śaka chief Azilises.[39]

In the Hellenistic and Roman period the heroic pair acquired two functions that brought them still closer to the Buddhist formula. As pieces of sculpture from widely separated regions show, they were made the secondary members in a variety of triads, in which the central deity might be the Magna Mater, or Helios, or the African goddess Caelestis, or an orientalized Jupiter. A Mithraic relief shows them flanking the god of infinite time, the equivalent of the Persian Zervan: a curious coincidence if it is no more, since the concept is merely a dehumanized version of Amitāyus' function as eternal life. At the Roman ends of the trade routes that led east to the Kushan realm, where their guardianship over caravans was particularly needed, they were worshipped with the Semitic moon-goddess Allat (at Petra), or with the sungod Shamash (at Palmyra).[40]

At the same time the Dioscuri came to play an important role in the pagan search for a life beyond the grave. Their figures are very common on the Roman sarcophagi of the second and third centuries, both western and eastern, which hold out through their symbolism the promise of immortality.[41] For this role they were doubly qualified. As stars they could be seen to sink and to rise again daily, presenting a never-ending cosmic allegory of death and resurrection. Again, their myth told that they too had once been mortals, and had achieved apotheosis and endless life. Since they had long been the protectors of living travellers, it was natural that they should be imagined as guarding the soul on its journey to the other world. They might even become its custodians, bearing others to Heaven as they had once ascended themselves to join the company of the gods. It is a plausible suggestion that the allusions in Roman sepulchral art to their abduction of the daughters of Lycippus were intended to have the same symbolic meaning as the rape of Ganymede by the eagle of Zeus. Both themes presented under a mythological disguise the belief that the souls of the dead might be caught up to Heaven with the suddenness of an abduction.[42]

The similarity between all this and the function assigned to the two Bodhisattvas in the final version of the welcome theme is a striking

[39] P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, London, 1886; see index under "Dioscuri" and "Pilei of Dioscuri." Also W. H. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, Eng., 1938, pp. 197, 204–206. In the most persistent coin type the pair are shown armed, standing side by side; so under Eukratides, Gardner, p. 165, pl. XXX, 9, 10, 11; Diomedes, pl. VIII, 14; and Azilises, pl. XX, 5. This iconographic formula was perhaps the basis for the Hinduist pair of warrior gods, Skandha and Viṣākha, used by Huviṣka, p. 149, pl. XXVIII, 22–24; and may even have been borrowed by the Sasanian coin designers, from the third century on, to represent the guardians flanking the sacred fire altar.

[40] F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942, pp. 64ff.; F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935; M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 43–44, 138–139.

[41] Cumont, p. 64–67, 90ff.

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

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one. It is reinforced, I am sure, by a curious occurrence in Gandhāran sculpture. In general, the two Bodhisattvas cannot be any more precisely identified than Their Lord in the surviving Gandhāran statues and reliefs. Their orthodox headdress attributes, the miniature Buddha and the vase, seem to have been invented to late for general adoption by the Kushan schools, and become frequent only in works of the Guptan period.[43] I am inclined to believe, however, that it was Avalokiteśvara whom the Northern sculptors meant to designate when they designed a special Bodhisattva crown, showing a humanized *nāga* or serpent deity being carried aloft by a giant bird.[44] The analogy here with the carrying-off of Ganymede by Zeus in the guise of an eagle, is obvious. The motif may well have been used with the same general purpose as the pagan myth in the West, to point — with the same sort of lingering Greek indirectness that had chosen to indicate Amitāyus by a crescent, new moon — to Avalokiteśvara's special position as the bearer of souls to Sukhāvatī.

I shall discuss in the next section two directions taken by the cult of Avalokiteśvara alone that although late in date seem to me possible survivals from the mythology of the Dioscuri and the Asvins: first the personification of the deity as a white horse, and then his worship as a being with equine attributes under the name Hayagrīva.[45]

The Special Cult of Avalokiteśvara in the West:

If my suggestion is a valid one, that the functions of the Dioscuri-Asvins were borrowed to enrich the personalities of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, it is clear that the transfer was only partially successful. There are very few references to a belief in twin saviors; instead in a short time all hope of divine rescue came to be concentrated in Avalokiteśvara. The earliest sign of this change shows the new direction well established, and with all the essential claims already made. We meet the new idea for the first time in the version of the "Lotus *Sūtra*", translated in 286 by Dharmarakṣa at the Western Chin capital.[46] His twenty-third chapter is devoted exclusively to the praises of Avalokiteśvara, who it is said will save the worthy believer from harm by fire or water, from the perils of shipwreck, from the swords of executioners, from malicious demons, from imprisonment, and from brigands. In addition to these spectacular errands of mercy, the Bodhisattva will grant more conventional blessings, freeing his devotees from the bonds of lust and hatred, and assuring women of the birth of fine children, of whichever sex they may desire. In going about the world, in order to perform His task of preaching with the fullest efficiency, He may assume whatever bodily shape best suits the needs of the moment, whether it be the likeness of a Buddha, or of a god, or of a human being, or even of a demon.

There is no mention of Mahāsthāmaprapta in the "Lotus" chapter. While in general the latter retained His position as an attendant on Amitāyus, the most enthusiastic devotees of Avalokiteśvara seem to have tried at least once to make their patron swallow up His twin there also. A relatively late development in the "Lotus" text was the addition of verses repeating or expanding the material given in prose. These are totally absent in Dharmarakṣa's version, and in the second translation, Kumārajīva's made a century or so later, were only added at a subsequent period (prior to the Sui dynasty, when they were copied for the third translation).[47] These verses in their Chinese form contain no reference to the instrusion that I speak of; but it is visible in the

43 D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1904, nos. Bd. 1, 3, 4, 5.

44 Foucher, *Gandhāra*, figs. 320, 398, 415, pl. I. A head from Mathurā of Gandhāran type, showing only the monster bird, is illustrated by J. P. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, pl. XXXVIa.

45 See below, pp. 164ff.

46 Nanjio's no. 138, the *Cheng Fa Hua Ching: Daizōkyō*, IX, no. 263, pp. 128cff.

47 Note to Nanjio's no. 139, p. 46.

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(presumably still later) Sanskrit *gāthas* that form the basis of the *Sacred Books of the East* translation.[48] As I have mentioned earlier, Avalokiteśvara is there described as attending the Lord Amitābha "at one time standing to the right, at another to the left": while Mahāsthāmaprāpta goes entirely unnamed.

It is not hard to imagine why two divine rescuers should have been merged by the Mahāyāna into one figure. The Dioscuri (and the Asvins in their lesser degree) had survived into an age when it became psychologically necessary to give all one's love and trust to a single deity; when their competitors were gods on a new scale, Viṣṇu and Śiva, Mithras and the Christ. In the West they were to be submerged with the rest of pagan tradition by the triumph of Christianity. If anything of their legend persisted there, it was at the secondary level of the saints; their prowess as healers, for example, may have contributed to the successes of the East Christian doctor-brothers Cosmas and Damian. I believe that their attributes persisted with much more vigor in the Buddhist world. The concept of the celestial pair continued, as we have seen, within the cult of Amitāyus, and there added a special lustre to the promise of a death-bed welcome to Paradise. I shall argue in the next chapter that another aspect of the ancient Indian and Greek beliefs, the function of the Dioscuri-Asvins as divine physicians, was carried on in the Mahāyāna system by the brother-Bodhisattvas of healing, Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata.[49] There, at the same time, we shall see as clearly as in the case of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta the struggle between duality and unity, and the final spectacular triumph of the latter. In the one *sūtra* that dwells at length on the healer-Bodhisattvas, the two are given a virtual parity, though Bhaiṣajyarāja, "the king," is called the elder brother and is always named first (as is true also of Avalokiteśvara). In a "Lotus" chapter, on the other hand, "the king" is given the same sort of unique prominence as the companion chapter accords to Avalokiteśvara; while the other goes unmentioned, like Mahāsthāmaprāpta. The final act in the healing cult is the emergence of a Buddha of healing, Bhaiṣajyaguru, who absorbs both His Bodhisattva predecessors and attains a vastly greater renown than They.

Though the attributes of two of the most popular deities of Mahāyāna Buddhism may be traced back to the Dioscuri-Asvins in part, I believe that their final, spectacular successes must be explained by other and more powerful formative elements. I shall propose in the next chapter that the healing functions of Bhaiṣajyaguru and the twelve demigods who assist Him were drawn directly from a knowledge of the miracles of Jesus and the healing mission of the Apostles. The genealogy of the savior Avalokiteśvara — which was presumably created during the third century A. D. out of the heterogenous religions of the Kushan and East Persian realms — must have been more complex. The coins of the Kushan dynasty give more prominence to Śiva than to any other deity; and thus stress the likelihood that the personality of Avalokiteśvara — which in its later phases was so strangely interwoven with that of the Hindu god — absorbed from the start something of His power and protean activity. As an epitome of divine compassion, on the other hand, the Bodhisattva can hardly have escaped the influence of Christian belief. It may be significant that the same third century Chinese translation that ascribes the role of rescuers to Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta speaks of the former as Amitābha's heir, and thus in a sense as His son. A Buddha cannot beget, to be sure; but the relationship was important enough to the cult so that in later versions it was more heavily underscored. In the *Karuṇapundarīka Sūtra*, which was rendered into Chinese at the Northern Liang court around 420, the compromise was followed of making Avalokiteś-

[48] Kern's translation, p. 417.

[49] See below, pp. 203 ff.

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vara the first of Amitābha's sons in an earlier, lay incarnation.[50] In the Sanskrit version of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, finally, He is specifically called "the glorious Buddha son."[51] At the same time even the earliest descriptions of His relationship with the Buddha insist on His being throned at the left side; i. e. the Indian (and Chinese) side of honor, equivalent to the right side in Mediterranean usage. He sits at the place of honor beside His divine father, or with His colleague Mahāsthāmaprāpta goes forth on His father's business, as in the speculation of Early Christian apologists the Logos and the Holy Spirit acted as agents of the transcendant God. "For us men and for our salvation He [comes] down from Heaven," both saving from immediate perils and preaching the Law. He is both a god with His seat in Heaven, and (in a sense) incarnate on Earth. Very wide differences separate Mahāyāna Buddhism and Christianity, and Buddhist belief lacks almost all of the salient aspects of the Christian drama in which Christ plays a central role, from the Creation to the Last Judgment; but I believe that this divided activity of Avalokiteśvara's bears a more than accidental resemblance to the dual nature and mission of Christ.

In this regard the problem of the Bodhisattva's names and their meanings is of considerable interest.[52] I have used so far the familiar "Avalokiteśvara," which is the standard in Sanskrit manuscripts; and which, if the verb form is followed strictly, should mean something like "the seen Lord". Scholars of earlier generations were apt to assume that this was the original form as well as the best known one. All the Sanskrit examples are relatively late, however, and their direct equivalent in Chinese, "Kuan-tzu-tsai", appeared only in the seventh century, when it was devised to modernize and correct the earlier standard translation, "Kuan-shih-yin". The name has in addition a derivative sound. "Tzu-tsai" or "Iśvara" is the habitual Buddhist way of referring to the "self-existent" god Śiva. Most of the later iconographic history of Avalokiteśvara is a process of gradual merger with His Hinduist rival. Like Śiva He acquires a female consort, sprouts multiple arms or heads, widens His personality to include terrible forms as well as benign ones. By the testimony of the great seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, indeed, we learn that at His very residence on Earth, the fabulous island Potalaka, the Bodhisattva showed Himself most often to adorers either in the guise of Śiva or of a Śiva-devotee. The change of name looks like a stage in this gradual loss of individuality; "Avalokiteśvara" or "Kuan-tzu-tsai" is half Śiva.[53]

The earlier Chinese "Kuan-shih-yin" (for which, it must be emphasized, we know no correspondingly orthodox Sanskrit equivalent) was probably accepted so widely in China because it was used by Kumārajīva for his classic translation of the "Lotus *Sūtra*," around 400. The literal meaning here is something on the order of "see world sound". The proper reading of the three characters, as Kumārajīva understood it, is explained at the outset of the chapter. One of the other Bodhisattvas in Śākyamuni's audience, Akṣayamati, asks the Buddha why His colleague "Kuan-shih-yin" is so named. The general accepted sense of the Buddha's reply is that the name has been given because any sufferer in the universe has only to hear it and invoke it wholeheartedly, and "Kuan-shin-yin will instantly

[50] Nanjio's no. 142, the *Pei Hua Ching: Daizōkyō*, III, no. 157, ch. ii, p. 174b ff. See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 4295a.

[51] Kern's translation, p. 48.

[52] See de Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.; also studies by Sakaino and Motoda G. in *Nara*, XIII, 1940, pp. 11 ff., 15 ff. (in Japanese); A. von Stael-Holstein, "Avalokita and Apalokita" in *Harvard Jour. of As. Stud.*, I, 1, 1936, pp. 350 ff.; N. D. Mironov, "Avalokiteśvara-Kuan-yin" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1927, pp. 241 ff.; and E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, New York, 1933, note p. 189.

[53] De Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–115, argues instead that the tendency to borrow from Śivaism was inconsiderable until the 10th century. For Mount Potalaka, see my p. 163 ff. below.

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heed [*kuan*] the sound of his voice [*yin*] and grant him deliverance."[54] For Kumārajīva, therefore, it is likely that the proper meaning of the name was a title like "the Bodhisattva who Heeds the Cries of the World" (or of humanity, or of mankind).

Though "Kuan-shih-yin" became the orthodox Six Dynasties version (and has remained the best-known ever since in its abbreviated form Kuan-yin), its primacy was challenged in the early centuries of translation by at least three or four others. Two of these, a late second century "Kuan-yin" and an early third century "K'uei-yin", are manifest twins, since *kuan* and *k'uei* have the same meaning, "to observe".[55] They look like mere simplifications of Kumārajīva's standard, to be rendered "He Who Heeds Cries". On the other hand, Chinese grammar is so vague that the structure could as well be reversed, giving something like "the Heeded Voice". What may be another variant of the name, a "Hsien-yin-sheng" of A. D. 291, certainly means something like "He Who Makes Manifest His Voice";[56] and so stresses the possibility that the sound referred to should be understood as the deity's own. (A Japanese scholar, indeed, has argued that this is the true meaning of Kumārajīva's explanation; it is the sufferer who hears of Kuan-shih-yin, who calls on the name of Kuan-shih-yin, and "who thenceforth heeds the sound of His voice, who will be granted deliverance.")[57] It is this sense, incidentally, that corresponds most directly to the one fairly early Sanskrit reading so far discovered: an "Avalokita-svara" found in a Central Asian manuscript ascribed to the end of the fifth century ("look" in the past passive participle, plus "sound").[58]

(The phonetic rendering found in the first two Chinese translations of the Paradise *sūtra*, pronounced in modern Mandarin "K'o-lou-hsüan", seems to have been an attempt to render an original "Avalokana", an early synonym for "Avalokita".)[59]

All these earliest Chinese members of what might be called the *yin* group (from their common character) are works that mention Avalokiteśvara only in passing, as one of the divine beings in Śākyamuni's audience who are just prominent enough to be named individually. A fourth variant was adopted for a much more important purpose; in his "Lotus" chapter of A. D. 286, Dharmarakṣa rendered the great savior Bodhisattva's name by "Kuang-shih-yin", literally "light world sound".[60]

This was of course no haphazard choice; Dharmarakṣa must have been a highly experienced translator. As his biography tells, he had followed his teacher from Tun-huang to the West, had travelled over many realms, and had learned thirty-six tongues while collecting the scriptures that he was to bring back to China and translate.[61] In addition, a colophon to the *sūtra* informs us that his "Lotus" was checked by an Indian monk and a scholar from the Central

[54] *Daizōkyō*, IX, p. 56c.

[55] Kuan-yin in Nanjio's no. 381, the *Cheng-chü Kuang-ming Ting-i Ching*, translated in A. D. 185 by the missionary "Chih-yao": *Daizōkyō*, XV, no. 630, p. 451b. K'uei-yin in Nanjio's no. 147, the first translation of the *sūtra* on Vimalakīrti's discourse, done in the 223–253 period by the missionary "Chih-ch'ien": *Daizōkyō*, XIV, no. 474, p. 519b.

[56] Nanjio's no. 2, the *Fang-kuang Po-jo Ching*, translated by the Khotanese missionary Mokśala: *Daizōkyō*, VII, no. 231, p. 1.

[57] Motoda, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff., proposes to invert the grammatical construction of the key clause.

[58] Mironov, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[59] Advice from Professor J. Rahder of Yale University, who traces a plausible chain of phonetic resemblances between the modern pronunciation (corrupted or semi-barbarized by the frontier environment of Peking), that of the Han or Six Dynasties (so far as it can be reconstructed), and the Prakrit dialect of North India. For "Avalokana" see F. Edgerton, *A Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, p. 74. Sakaino's suggestion in *Nara*, p. 12, that the characters stand for the noun *āloka* ("looking, sight, light, shining") seems a little farther from the mark. The "Ma-ho Na-po" assigned to the other Bodhisattva is more easily recognizable as an attempt to reproduce an early variant of his name, Mahāsthānaprāpta, as we have seen: "He who has gained great power."

[60] *Daizōkyō*, IX, p. 128c. This version is also found in his translation of Nanjio's no. 23, the *Ta Pao-chi Ching:* in *ibid.*, XI, no. 310, e. g. p. 42c.

[61] *Ibid.*, L, p. 326c, from *Kao SC*, i.

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Asia city-state of Kucha, before the final wording was fixed.[62] We may conclude that his choice of *kuang* instead of *kuan* was a deliberate and carefully-studied one, reflecting the authority of some Western school in which he had an especial confidence. Somewhere during his travels in the late third century he must have met votaries of Avalokiteśvara who argued that the Bodhisattva's main function had to do with light rather than with sight or sound.[63] (For them, presumably, the meaning of the divine name was fixed by the secondary sense of the root *lok*, "light".)

Dharmarakṣa's name has been turned into English equivalents like "illuminating the sounds of the world", which make no particular sense.[64] If we follow the other non-standard Chinese readings, and make the final *yin* a subject instead of an object (as the grammar still permits), we shall reach a much more suggestive meaning. Kuang-shih-yin becomes a being whose "voice illumines the world".[65]

We are faced, then, with a number of early Chinese names for the compassionate Bodhisattva, which vary sufficiently among themselves so that they cannot have had any single Sanskrit original, but which agree in one all-important respect. His first attribute is a voice. To this Dharmarakṣa's translation adds an activity: it is a voice that brings light to the world. If these were the only general statements that could be made about the early beliefs in Avalokiteśvara in the West, such emphases might seem merely reflections of the traditional preaching activity of the Buddha, and of the widespread Middle Eastern insistence on light as the symbol of goodness. Since there are other signs, however, that the cult may have been formulated under Christian influence, the early names may have had a more specific significance. Dharmarakṣa's, in particular, has a remarkably familiar ring. The Fourth Gospel must have been the most widely used of the Christian books on the frontiers of the Buddhist world, since its point of view was the most congenial to Middle Eastern beliefs. In it, we should remember, the mission of Christ is summed up in sentences that echo the emphases of the Mahāyāna cult. He was "the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (i. 9). He Himself is quoted as saying: "I am come a light into the world" (xii, 46); and again: "To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice" (xviii, 37).

To counterbalance the emphasis that I have so far given to a possible Christian strain in the personality of Avalokiteśvara, two other likely sources of a very different sort should be consid-

[62] Quoted in the bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, viii (*ibid.*, LV, p. 56c).

[63] It is unfortunately impossible to be sure just what sort of original text Dharmarakṣa used. The same colophon refers to it as a *hu* scripture, using an adjective that traditionally could have meant nothing more than "Western." In this period of closer contact with the West, when it became useful to be able to stipulate various kinds of foreignness, the term eventually ceased to apply to India, and was limited in the main to the people – predominantly Iranian in race or culture – who lived along the Central Asian trade routes. One further item of information is furnished by a preface to the Sui translation of the "Lotus", whose editor tells that he had personally examined what were thought to be the manuscript sources for both Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's editions. The first he had found written on *tala* leaves (i. e. in the traditional Indian way), while the second was in the language of Kucha. (See *Daizōkyō*, IX, no. 264, p. 134c.) Taken together, the two accounts perhaps show that Dharmarakṣa's manuscript had the usual Indian format and was written in Sanskrit, but came from some Buddhist center in Afghanistan or Central Asia.

[64] Mironov, *op. cit.*, p. 243, quoting Eitel.

[65] A crucial test of Dharmarakṣa's consistency occurs in the opening paragraph of his chapter on "Kuang-shih-yin," for there we find the same question: "Why is the Bodhisattva so named?" The answer he quotes begins and ends like Kumārajīva's, but the all-important middle clause is lacking: i. e. there is no mention of the Bohisattva's heeding the cries of those who pray for relief. Instead, we are told only that any sufferer has but to call whole-heartedly on Kuang-shih-yin's name, and he will be granted deliverance (p. 128c). The same *lacuna*, incidentally, exists in the Sanskrit text used by Kern (p. 406). It looks, therefore, as if Kumārajīva had interpolated his clause about heeding the cries of the world in order to strengthen a point of view that he himself favored, but that was still controversial in his time.

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ered. In his general role as a Bodhisattva, to begin with, Avalokiteśvara inherited much that had become important to the later phases of Hīnayāna in India. An important part of the Bodhisattva career, for example, had been clearly foreshadowed in the theme of the Jātaka stories that tell of Śākyamuni's untiring altruism. More specifically we may note that the most plausible origin for the doctrine of the deity's readiness to assume any kind of incarnation was a presumably prior teaching within Hīnayāna. In several accounts of Śākyamuni's last sermons prior to the Paranirvāṇa — closely similar in both the Sanskrit-Chinese and the Pāli texts, and so relatively early — the Buddha is quoted as saying that He has visited and preached to innumerable assemblies, made up of nobles or of Brahmans, or of wealthy householders, or of monks, or of the various ranks of the gods. In each He has adapted Himself to His hearers, giving Himself a form, a voice, and manners like theirs, with such success that He has never been recognized.[66] To become a series of metamorphoses like those of Avalokiteśvara, the idea requires only filling-out into a greater variety of forms, and a Mahāyāna insistence that the process is continuous throughout all time (instead of being already completed).

The encyclopedic study of Avalokiteśvara undertaken by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann has convinced her that the Buddhist savior's earliest affinities were chiefly Iranian, both as an individual and as a member of a triad. Her preferred interpretation of his name, based on the *iśvara* reading and on the *sūtra's* descriptions of his luminosity, is something like "the brilliant Lord".[67] She compares His status in general to that of Mithra in Iran; and with reference to His more personal traits, underlines the similarities between His promises of rescue and those found in the Mazdean litanies addressed to the god Sraosha, an *alter ego* of Mithra's.[68] (The resemblances, in fact, cover more than half of the clauses. Both the Mazdean and the Buddhist faithful are to be guarded against the peril of flood waters, and the violence resulting from conflicts with the law, or with brigands, or with demons. The Iranian version is more interested in the perils that beset the wayfarer by land, and has nothing to say about the sea — in contrast to the cult of the Dioscuri. Unfortunately the force of de Mallmann's comparison is somewhat weakened by an uncertainty as to the date of composition of the Sraosha hymn. If as late as the Sasanian period, it may represent the borrowing side instead of the lending.)

I have observed in an earlier paragraph that the surviving Buddhist art of the Kushan period contains very little material that can be related with any certainty to the cult of Avalokiteśvara; the probable reason being that His prime attribute, the Buddha in the headdress, was invented too late for general adoption between the second and fourth centuries.[69] In addition to the possible exceptions to this rule that I have cited — the few Bodhisattvas whose headgear contains an Indianized allusion to the Zeus and Ganymede legend — De Mallmann's researches have disclosed two pieces that satisfy the iconographic requirement literally. To both of these — one a Gandhāran head in the Field Museum, Chicago, the other a complete Mathuran statue in the Lucknow Museum — she assigns dates in the second half of the second century, on the grounds of their stylistic similarity to other, dated works.[70] The head she

[66] See Przyluski, "Le Paranirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha," *Jour. As.*, 11th ser., XII, 1918, pp. 419ff. Striking parallels in the ancient Classical world to this idea, particularly in the writings of Philo and Origen, are discussed by H. de Lubac, *Aspects of Buddhism*, New York, 1954, pp. 88ff.

[67] De Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 85ff.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 93. The litanies in question are translated in the *SBE* series, XXIII (Oxford, 1883) by J. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, II, pp. 159–167.

[69] See above, p. 155.

[70] De Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–122, pl. Ia, b. To the head should be added a fragment in the Peshawar Museum, showing only the headdress Buddha and aureole: Foucher, *Gandhāra*, II, fig. 399.

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refers to the Kaniṣka reliquary, because of a supposed similarity between its small Buddha and the one that squats on the top of the casket. The statue she compares with the Mathuran Bodhisattva of Friar Bala, dated in the third year of Kaniṣka (by her chronology A. D. 147; by the system I prefer, 130).[71] Both of these attributions seem to me too early by a century or more. The features of the Chicago head show a crisp formalization that fits more naturally into the third or fourth century than into the earlier phase of classicism. (The comparison between Buddha types has been invalidated by Mirella d'Ancona's demonstration that the Kaniṣka reliquary was executed by a Mathuran metal-worker, and so is quite outside the stylistic confines of Gandhāran art.)[72] The Mathuran figure is only superficially like the Bala statue. Its closest ties are with the type of Maitreya who is shown seated alongside the Seven Buddhas; since these last are typically rendered in an imitation of the Gandhāran Buddha formula, such reliefs belong in a relatively late phase. In the most methodical recent study of Mathuran style they are placed toward the end of the century following Kaniṣka; by my preferred chronology, in the beginning of the third century, or later.[73] It seems to me only reasonable to look for a late date in objects whose iconography is rare at the time, but matches that of the succeeding period.

It should be noted that the headdress Buddhas found in these examples resemble those of the Guptan period and later, and differ from the type specified in the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing Amitāyus", in that they squat in meditation instead of standing. De Mallmann has circumvented this difficulty by arguing that the translator of the *sūtra* (known only in Chinese) misinterpreted the descriptive word used for the pose in the Sanskrit original.[74] It seems to me also possible that the *kuan sūtra* never influenced the Indian sculptors because it was a foreign composition to begin with, known in Central Asia and the Far East. In that case their authority would have been some other text that never reached China, and has failed to survive in the West.

The impression derived from the Kushan art of Gandhāra and Mathura, that the cult of Avalokiteśvara grew at first with relative slowness, is reinforced for the period around A. D. 400 by Fa-hsien's travel diary. The Chinese pilgrim mentions him only once on Indian soil: at Mathurā, he says, the Mahāyānists made their offerings to the Prajñāpāramitā, to Mañjuśrī, and to "Kuan-shih-yin".[75] (The context proves that Mathurā was signalled out not as a special center for the cult, but because it was remarkable for the variety of types of worship that it supported, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.) Two and a half centuries later, in contrast, Hsüan-tsang found impressive, often colossal statues of the Bodhisattva all over Buddhist India. A pair of Avalokiteśvara images had by then even been accorded the privilege of flanking the great Holy of Holies at Bodhgayā, the "Diamond Throne" that marked the spot where Śākyamuni had attained Enlightenment.[76]

Fa-hsien's record, on the other hand, makes it clear at least that by his time the "Lotus" chapter had created a lively faith in Avalokiteśvara's promises of rescue.

On his way home by ship in 413, he himself had the opportunity in two violent storms to text the *ur*-miracle of rescue at sea; and found that his prayers – offered to "Kuan-shih-yin and the monks of China" – saved him and his com-

71 L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, n. d., pls. 79, 148.

72 D'Ancona, "Is the Kaniṣka Reliquary a Work from Mathurā?" *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 4, 1949, pp. 321–323.

73 Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–227, figs. 51–52. Since her chronology begins the Kaniṣka era in A. D. 78, she dates this interval ca. 130–180.

74 De Mallmann, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 12.

75 *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 859b; in Beal's translation, p. xxxix. See also Kobayashi T., "The Idea on [sic] Avalokiteśvara from the Chin to the T'ang Dynasties," *Ars Buddhica*, X, 1950, pp. 8ff. (in Japanese).

76 *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 915b; in Beal's translation, II, p. 116.

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panions.[77] In this very regard we may have some indication of the more rapid growth of the cult in India after the time of Fa-hsien's visit. He describes himself as the only one to pray to the Bodhisattva; and says that during the second storm, somewhere off the Indo-Chinese coast, when his fellow-travellers were mostly Brāhmans from Java, he was in some danger of being marooned as a bringer of bad luck. On the other hand, when the Central Indian missionary Gunabhadra was en route to Canton in 435, his ship too ran into a tempest. The *Kao Seng Chuan*, iii, tells that he exhorted his fellow-travellers "to think on the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters with all their hearts and their strength, and to call on Kuan-shih-yin, who would respond wherever He might be." Also he "secretly recited the Spells *Sūtra*, and with the utmost fervor worshipped and did penitence."[78]

Whether or not the rest of the ship's company were now better Buddhists, or less fanatically anti-Buddhist, it is clear that Gunabhadra was a more sophisticated follower of the savior cult than Fa-hsien had been. His actions already showed the distinction between two kinds of knowledge, public and secret, that was later to create a fully organized religion of Tantric magic inside the Mahāyāna. He encouraged his fellows with the familiar promises of the "Lotus"; but being wiser than they – he was not merely a monk, but a Brahman as well, and had been trained in the secular arts of astrology, calculation, medicine, and wizardry, as well as in all branches of Buddhism – he took the extra precaution of reciting secretly another and perhaps a more potent appeal.

(His "Spells *Sūtra*" must have been similar to – if it was not identical with – the one that had been rendered into Chinese by the Indian scholar Nandi in 420, the "*Dharaṇi* Spell *Sūtra* that Implores the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to Counteract Evil Influences." I have cited above the anecdote at the outset of this work, that tells of the descent to a plague-stricken city of Amitāyus with His two rescuer Bodhisattvas. It may be of interest here to note that one of the prayers that follow addresses Avalokiteśvara as: "Thou great compassionate one, who takest all under Thy shelter, who bestowest everywhere the light of Thy purity that brings an end to the darkness of folly . . . I now give myself wholly to Thee, who art in this world as a kind and compassionate father.")[79]

It may be legitimate to trace fifth century Indian beliefs in the powers of Avalokiteśvara a step farther by examining two other miracles of which Gunabhadra was the beneficiary after his arrival in China. He despaired at first because his activities as a missionary were so handicapped by his ignorance of Chinese. Then after penitence and "prayer to Kuan-shih-yin for His intercession, he dreamed that a being came to him, robed in white and armed with a sword and bearing a human head, who said, 'Why doest thou grieve?' Gunabhadra told the figure everything. It said, 'There is no reason to be so sorrowful': and with the sword exchanged his head painlessly for the new one . . . which gave him a full understanding of Sung speech."[80]

On a later occasion he benefited by a more conventional intercession. In 454, finding himself involved against his will in an abortive civil war, he was forced to escape from a blazing war-junk by flinging himself into the river in mid-stream. The water turned out to be only knee-deep, however; and he was guided to the shore by a mysterious boy, who disappeared as soon as the task of rescue was over.[81]

77 *Daizōkyō*, p. 866a; Beal, pp. lxxx–lxxxi.

78 *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 344a. It should be noted that the account given of the voyage in the slightly earlier biography preserved in *Meisōden-sho*, pp. 5–6, says nothing about the tempest. Perhaps the story was invented by Gunabhadra's admirers in China, to match the familiar one told about Fa-hsien.

79 See above, pp. 150ff. and note 28.

80 *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 344b. Again the *Meisōden-sho* version differs, this time in failing to identify the vision as Avalokiteśvara.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 345a.

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In the same regard we may note finally that the Chinese monk T'an-wu-chieh (or Fa-yung), who was encouraged to go as a pilgrim to India by hearing of Fa-hsien's example, claimed on his return three rescues by land in "Middle India": once from death by hunger, once from the assault of a herd of wild elephants, and once from a herd of wild oxen.[82] This same man secured in Kashmir and later translated a minor tract that I have mentioned earlier, the "*Sūtra* on what the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta were Told."[83]

One more important item of infomation about the early Avalokiteśvara legend is given in the huge *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*, one of the most ambitious of the Mahāyāna attempts to present a systematic philosophy. The work ends in an odd allegorical narrative, half fantasy and half metaphysics, telling of a pilgrimage in search of the truth undertaken by a small boy, Sudhana. He visits on his quest a great number of places, always moving farther and farther south; and interviews an extraordinary assortment of wise men and women, or deities, or Bodhisattvas, often to the accompaniment of earth-shaking or eye-dazzling miracles. Just half way through the journey, in his twenty-eight meeting, he comes rather briefly into contact with Avalokiteśvara (with a good deal less fanfare than in most other cases). The Six Dynasties translation of the *sūtra*, done by Buddhabhadra between 418 and 420 or 421, introduces the two thus:[84]

"Going continually on and on, he made his way to Mount Radiant, which he ascended. On it he looked everywhere for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, whom he [finally] found on the western slope. Everywhere there were running springs and bathing pools; the woods grew dense, and the ground was softly mantled with vegetation. [The deity] sat cross-legged on a diamond treasure-throne, surrounded by innumerable adoring Bodhisattvas, preaching for them a *sūtra* of great compassion and pity . . ."

Here the Bodhisattva is called "Kuan-shih-yin" and the mountain is "Kuang-ming Shan". In the T'ang translation of the same work, done between 695 and 699, both names are modernized, the first to "Kuan-tzu-tsai" and the second to "Pu-ta-lo-chia" (i. e. Potalaka).[85] Both these changes agree with Hsüan-tsang's more detailed description of the Bodhisattva's island home, off the southern coasts of India.[86] It should be noticed, however, that neither of the *Avataṁsaka* versions says anything about an island, or locates the mountain in any realistic way; the ascription of the pilgrimage sites to "the south" probably had for the writer only the loosest connection with everyday geography. What does emerge from the allegory is the picture of an earthly Paradise, somewhere on a verdant mountain-top, where the Bodhisattva was said to have His terrestrial home. If Avalokiteśvara was first conceived and worshipped in the northern frontier regions, at the meeting point of Indian, Iranian, and Greco-Roman cultures, His first earthly seat should have been in that area rather than in the South. Hsüan-tsang describes a number of miracle-working statues of Him that attracted votaries, in the mountains along the northern border of India.[87] Perhaps one of these was the original "Mount Radiant." After the cult had been more widely disseminated through India, and particularly after the Bodhisattva's reputation as a savior from shipwreck had won Him a new popularity on the high seas, it may have been found expedient to transfer the mythical headquarters southward, to the seashore.

The later development of the cult of Avalokiteśvara in India is almost entirely irrelevant to this study. The proliferation of special forms of the

82 *Ibid.*, p. 338c, from *Kao SC*, iii.

83 See above, p. 150 and note 26.

84 Nanjio's no. 87, the *Ta Fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen Ching: Daizōkyō*, IX, no. 278, li, p. 718a.

85 Nanjio's no. 88, in *Daizōkyō*, X, no. 279, lxviii, p. 366c. See also Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

86 *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 932a; Beal's translation, II, p. 233.

87 *Daizōkyō*, pp. 874a, 883b, 887c; Beal, I, pp. 60, 127, 160.

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deity — in so many of which He took on the monstrous attributes of Śiva— seems to have occurred too late to be transmitted to the Far East prior to the T'ang dynasty.[88] Only one of these manifestations need be mentioned, for the reason that it may just possibly throw additional light on the origins of the Bodhisattva's personality. The curious sub-cult of an Avalokiteśvara with a horse's head, called in Sanskrit Hayagrīva, emerged into documented history for the first time in the seventh century, when it was cited in a number of Tantric texts translated into Chinese.[89] In these the deity may be classed either as a Vidyārāja, a demon-like guardian holding special magical powers, who should be grouped close to Avalokiteśvara in the *maṇḍala;* or as a terrifying aspect of Avalokiteśvara Himself. Hayagrīva holds a minor place in the Tantric pantheons of Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan, being shown usually with a miniature horse's head surmounting His own, like a crown. A rare variant, which the Japanese have remembered as "the T'ang type," gives Him an actual horse's head. The origins of this being cannot, I think, be fully traced, in spite of the exhaustive study given Him by R. H. van Gulik. The latter proposes a source in the Hindu myths quoted in the *Mahābhārata*, where the name and the attribute are attached both to a fearsome demon, Viṣṇu's special adversary, and to Viṣṇu himself in his special character as reciter and protector of the Vedas. Van Gulik has suggested that the transfer of the idea took place largely because the Vidyārāja type was designed as a Tantric continuation of Viṣṇu's role; the custodian of the Vedas gave way to the custodian of the magical *dhāraṇi*. The explanation would be more completely satisfying if Hayagrīva had ever been known to hold a role in Buddhism comparable to Viṣṇu's; but He has always been a secondary figure at best, even among His fellow Vidyārājas.

Japanese Buddhist scholars have tentatively linked the strange form with a traditional Buddhist pantomimic dance, in which the performer, simulating a white horse, tramples on and symbolically kills a wooden serpent. They incline to a belief that the dance had its origin in the Vedic myth of a King Pedu, to whom the Asvins, as lords of the horse world, presented a wonderful steed called Paidava, that could kill malignant snake-deities, guarantee victory in battle, and mount into the Heavens. The Japanese cite two or three details in the iconography of Hāyagrīva to suggest that the deity may represent a Tantric version of the old myth.[90] In one iconographic cartoon preserved in Japan He wears a serpent hanging from His head, presumably to testify to a mastery over the snake kingdom; His expression is usually a threatening one, as if He were constantly in the presence of danger. His body, finally, has the color of the glow of dawn — that magical period in which the Asvins, as the morning star, yield their guardianship to the sun.

My own very tentative proposal — to which the Japanese theory may add needed substance — is that Hayagrīva represents a survival from the cult of the Dioscuri-Asvins, whom I have for other reasons called the immediate ancestors of Avalokiteśvara (and Mahāsthāmaprāpta). It should be remembered that they were thought of not only as heroic horse-tamers, but also as divine horses; the Paidava of the myth, who could bring victory over the perils of this Earth and rise from it to the Heavens, was no more than a manifestation of their own powers. It seems to me likely, therefore, that somewhere in the Western Buddhist world a realization of their share in creating Avalokiteśvara's personality

[88] The first vanguard of this new invasion was probably Nanjio's no. 327, "the *Sūtra* of the Eleven-headed Avalokitésvara," *Shih-i Mien Kuan-shih-yin Shen-chou Ching*, translated in the 570's: *Daizōkyō*, XX, no. 1070.

[89] R. H. van Gulik, *The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan*, Leyden, 1935. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 4240–4242 under "Batō Kannon": also the same entry in the Japanese-French Buddhist encyclopedia, *Hōbō Girin*, Tōkyō, 1929–37, pp. 58–61; and B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Oxford, 1924, p. 53.

[90] Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, p. 4242.

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was powerful enough to endow the new Bodhisattva with horse attributes. If such was the case, the sub-cult so formed must have remained inconspicuous for centuries, while the deity was imagined as a being of perfect royal beauty like the other Bodhisattvas; and emerged into notice only when the primacy of the anthropomorphic ideal had been weakened by the creation of other monstrous forms.

The link between Avalokiteśvara and the horse theme (and so, by extension, Hayagrīva) is strengthened by a famous story. One of the most elaborate of the Jātakas had told of a party of merchants shipwrecked on a distant island, where they were welcomed with apparent love by the beautiful native women.[91] In actuality, however, the latter were ogresses, and were merely waiting for a favorable opportunity to devour the men. From this terrible predicament the merchants were offered a means of rescue when the divine horse Balāha appeared, and offered to carry them all home on his back over the sea. In proper early versions of the story, the horse is of course identified as a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni. At some relatively late date, however, the votaries of Avalokiteśvara transferred the feat to their own deity, with the same pious unscrupulousness that, as we have seen, led them to try to make Him both the second and the third persons in the Amitāyus trinity. The most unrestrained of all the works in praise of Avalokiteśvara, the *Karaṇḍa-vyūha*, known through a Tibetan translation of the mediaeval period, identifies the white horse of the tale with Avalokiteśvara, and demotes Śākyamuni to the secondary role of leader of the merchants.[92] Perhaps this represents no more than a reaching-out in every direction for new jewels to add to the Bodhisattva's crown; just possibly the idea came naturally because there was already in existence a disposition to think of the horse as one of Avalokiteśvara's attributes.

Amitāyus-Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara in China:

Numerous references in the *Kao Seng Chuan* and elsewhere testify to the exceptional popularity of the Western Buddha and the savior Bodhisattva. The themes found are relatively few, as one would expect. Mentions of Amitāyus or Amitābha are connected with death-bed visions and the hope of a divine welcome to Paradise. Avalokiteśvara is cited in connection with a variety of rescues, particularly from prison, from drowning, and from the attacks of brigands or enemy soldiers. I shall summarize first four death-bed accounts, chosen for variety as well as individual interest.

The Northern priest Seng-hsien led an austere and solitary life in the wilderness, far from human habitations, spending his time in chanting *sūtras* and in meditation.[93] Sometimes he would remain in a trance for several days without showing any signs of hunger. After the collapse of the Western Chin he migrated southward around 320, to continue the same sort of roaming hermit's life among the celebrated mountains south of the Yangtse. "Finally he fell ill, and lay for a long time in a critical state, with his thoughts fixed on the West. When his heart was most full of pain, he saw the Buddha Amitāyus descend in His true guise, with a radiance lighting up His body. All his suffering came to an end; so that night he rose, washed himself, and told his cell-mate and

[91] Van Gulik, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24. The story appears many times in Buddhist literature: see, e. g., H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas, *Jātaka Tales*, Cambridge (England), 1916, pp. 164ff., "The Goblin City": and in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarāgama*, *Tseng I A-han Ching*, Nanjio's no. 543: *Daizōkyō*, II, no. 125, xli, pp. 769c–770c.

[92] Sir C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1954 (2nd. ed.), II, p. 57; E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Boudhisme indien*, Paris, 1876, pp. 196–200; A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914, p. 55 (where the story is confusingly derived from "the Mahāyāna *Sūtra*"). Miss Getty quotes from S. Beal a statement that Chinese Buddhist texts contain many references to the Bodhisattva as a white horse; unfortunately she cites no sources.

[93] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 395b, from *Kao SC*, xi.

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those who were tending him all that he had witnessed. He discoursed and admonished on the theme of cause and effect, in the most refined language. Toward morning he passed away at the first signs of dawn, while sitting quietly. A strange perfume was left in the chamber..." This is the earliest story of the kind that I have been able to track down, predating the spread of the cult under Hui-yüan by three-quarters of a century. It has what might be termed an early classic form, closely dependent on the scriptures, and reproduced closely or in part in a number of other biographies.[94] An important feature is the omission of an reference to welcoming Bodhisattvas; as we have seen, this is true also of the early literature on Amitāyus images.[95]

The next biographical item, highly non-classical, is a medley of incongruities. Priest T'an-hung, originally a native of Jehol, migrated southward and late in life reached a monastery in Cochin China.[96] He made it his practise to recite the Amitāyus and Avalokiteśvara *sūtras* (the latter being the "Lotus" chapter), and prayed for rebirth in "An-yang," or Sukhāvatī. In 455 he gathered fuel together to burn himself to death on a hill-top. His disciples rushed up and pulled him, half-burned, out of the fire. Later, on an occasion when all the monks of his house were absent attending a village maigre feast, he tried again. This time he was not discovered until he was dead; so they piled on more fuel and allowed his body burn itself out. "The villagers all said they saw Hung with a golden body, riding very swiftly westward on a golden deer..."

What I should like to call the full classical form taken by the death-bed scene, in which the Bodhisattvas participate with the Buddha, appears (for the first time, if my notes are correct) in the biography of a nun, Fa-sheng.[97] Constant in her prayers for rebirth in "An-yang," in 493 "after worshipping the Buddha in the lower storey of a pagoda at a late hour, she fell ill and lay for a long time in a critical state. It was a night of no-moon and she was dozing in the darkness when the Tathāgata came down riding the air with His two great Lords, expounding the doctrine of the Two Vehicles. In an instant the air was filled with the beauty of a great host following Them, descending to heal Sheng's sickness. The radiance lit up the whole temple, so that everyone saw it, and came running to ask Sheng what it meant. She told them all, and when she had finished, expired, being then in her seventy-second year."

The next tale illustrates what might be called the eclipse of Amitāyus by Avalokiteśvara.[98] Another Northerner, Hui-ch'ien, whose first move southward led him to a ten years' stay on Mount Lu with the great abbot Hui-yüan, in 405 went on to a temple on the eastern coast. After another five years he fell ill there, and knowing himself to be near death, turned his thoughts to "An-yang", and prayed fervently to Avalokiteśvara. A nun in a nearby convent "dreamed she saw Avalokiteśvara entering the gate to the western suburbs, His pure and luminously-perfect form outshining the sun and moon in its radiance, with pennants and streamers and ornamental canopies, all of the Seven Precious Substances, to do Him honor..." When questioned, He said He was going to the temple to welcome Master Ch'ien.

The most important individual contribution to the growth of the Amitāyus cult was made by Hui-yüan during his long stay on Mount Lu in Kiangsu.[99] Most of the monk-sectarians of the early fifth century had been his disciples there. He was probably also the first to encourage a wide-spread participation of laymen in the rite of calling on Amitāyus' name and praying for re-

[94] E. g. *ibid.*, pp. 362a, 362b, 370a, from vi and vii, dealing respectively with Hui-yung, Seng-ch'i, and T'an-chien.

[95] See above, pp. 124ff.

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 405c, from xii.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 937c, from the *Pi-ch'iu-ni Chuan*, ii.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 357b, c, from *Kao SC*, v.

[99] See above, pp. 33ff.

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birth. The "White Lotus Society" that he founded, to include both monks and the laity, has remained one of the most famous names in the early history of Amidism in the Far East.[100]

Fa Yüan Chu Lin, xv, in a section on miracles connected with Amitābha, quotes four biographical items from the Southern Ch'i anthology of wonders, *Ming Hsiang Chi*. Three of these have to do with layman's visions; the first is said to have been seen in 436 by the devoted wife of a practising Taoist, who had previously kept her Buddhist sentiments a secret.[101] She pointed out where the apparition had been visible to her husband, and he was able to make out a half-length figure with banners and canopies about it, before everything disappeared. (The idea that inability to see perfectly is a sign of moral imperfection is a much-reiterated one in the *kuan sūtras*.)

The tales told about marvellous rescues by Avalokiteśvara are both more numerous than the accounts of visions, and more often concerned with laymen; very likely it was this side of Buddhism that most deeply tinged the popular imagination everywhere in China. Most of the miracles conform faithfully to the pattern set in the "Lotus" chapter; the story-teller, beginning with a key word like "prison" or "drowning", seems to have spent his ingenuity in providing colorful and realistic details, rather than tampering in any way with the framework of the narrative. The stories have as a result a certain monotonous predictability. I intend for that reason to add only one new Avalokiteśvara miracle at this point, to the number already accumulated during the book, choosing it because of its early date and unusual theme.

The *Kao Seng Chuan*, iv, gives the biography of a certain Fa-i (307–380), an expert in the "Lotus", who travelled southward and made a career in or around the Chin capital, winning the high esteem of the Emperor.[102] In 372 "he suddenly felt very ill, and so kept his thoughts constantly on Kuan-yin. Then he dreamed that he saw a man who broke open his belly and washed his intestines; when he awoke, he found his illness cured." This feat of healing recalls the miraculous replacement of Gunabhadra's head carried out by a "white-robed figure" some fifty years later, which as we have seen gave the missionary a full command of the Chinese language.

100 Sakaino, *Shina Bukkyō Seishi*, pp. 484ff., dates this founding in 408; the more usual interpretation of the text naming the year places it in 390.

101 *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 400a. Other like miracles are described in xvii, *ibid.*, pp. 409bff.; and by Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 26ff.

102 *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 350c. Kobayashi, p. 27, retells a more detailed version of the story from the Liang dynasty *Shu-i Chi* by Jen Fang: there the dream figure is called a *tao-jen*, or monk.

THE BUDDHAS

Akṣobhya:

Akṣobhya must have been one of the first Mahāyāna deities to arrive in China. His basic tract, the "*Sūtra* on Akṣobhya Buddha's Realm", was rendered into Chinese during the latter half of the second century by the Kushan Lokarakṣa (the same missionary who was responsible for the earliest extant Sukhāvatī translation).[1] He seems never to have won popularity, however. There are no signs of a cult bearing His name or that of His Paradise in the East, Abhirati. The one image that I have been able to

1 Nanjio's no. 28, the *A-tsuo Fo Kuo Ching: Daizōkyō*, XI, no. 313.

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trace honored Him merely as one of the Four Buddhas of the Four Directions.[2]

The reasons for this failure are probably legible in His *sūtra*, which almost totally lacks the glamour and persuasiveness of its great rivals. The trouble is not so much that the basic promises are not made as that in large part they are made briefly, or in an off-handed way, while the major emphasis is directed elsewhere. The book actually reads rather like an awkward first draft of the ideas that are much more skilfully set out in the Sukhāvatī *sūtras*. Its early character includes a strong, surviving link with Hīnayāna. The book is still full of monkish ideas and values. Though the word "Bodhisattva" is frequently used, it indicates not a counter-ideal to the monastic one, but merely a sort of Buddhist elect from which the monastic order will be filled; the blest in Abhirati are not of two separate orders, saintly monks and Bodhisattvas, as in Sukhāvatī but for the most part are both at once.

Much of the bliss of the after-life is described in monkish terms; in the terms, indeed, that would have been natural to a rather lazy, timid, and greedy monk, with few thoughts except for his appetite and his prospects of advancement in the Order. Akṣobhya's Paradise is in one sense a ceaseless round of spiritual promotions. It is of course a realm from which one never lapses to a less fortunate status; under the encouragement of the Buddha's preaching and pushed by His supernatural power the blessed — who are mostly Arhats anyway — advance steadily, step by step, toward Nirvāṇa.[3] In the process, they remain utterly safe, and protected against the assaults or the wheedling of demons.[4] They eat their fill with miraculous ease (the author seems to have wanted to underline this feature, for he makes the same promise three or four times).[5] One especially eloquent passage is worth quoting:[6]

"In Akṣobhya Buddha's land His disciples never say to themselves, 'Today how shall I eat? Today who will give me food?' Nor is there any begging from house to house. When the time arrives, food is provided, filling a bowl that appears of itself before one. One eats, and when one has finished the bowl disappears of itself. Such is the food in that realm. Neither do the disciples any longer have to go out begging for robes; nor do they need to cut up robes, or mend them, or wash them, or dye them, or fit them on, or teach men to do so: all is achieved by the Buddha's supernatural power... In that land the hosts of disciples are never overbearing and arrogant, like those on Earth who keep the rules in monasteries." The Buddha never preaches about sin, or imposes commandments, as is necessary on Earth, because there are no sinners there. But "also, there are none who carry spiritual progress too far; nor yet are there idlers."

Like Sukhāvatī, Abhirati seems to have been imagined in the physical sense as an amalgam of two types: what we would call the New Jerusalem mixed with the Garden of Eden. The theme of the celestial city, with its jewelled buildings and pleasure parks, is no more than lightly sketched, however (where in the Sukhāvatī *sūtras* it is developed and reiterated with a hypnotic insistence). The Eden component is described in terms that owe a great deal to the Indian tradition of the happy continent, Uttarakuru. Like the latter it is a place of complete comfort, where every sense is continually soothed and gratified. Like both Uttarakuru and Sukhāvatī, it is absolutely level. One crucial detail is changed. Uttarakuru had been praised as a land of complete sexual license. In Abhirati all the elements necessary for the same joyous amorality are present. The inhabitants are all beautiful. The women are spared all the pains and the disgusting incidentals of femaleness on Earth; they bear children without labor. To restore the

[2] See above, p. 131.
[3] *Daizōkyō*, XI, pp. 756c–757a.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 759c–760a.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 755c, 756a, 757b.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 757b.

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ethical balance, however, we are told that because of the Buddha's original vow, the land is lacking in sexual desire.[7]

A conspicuous weakness in the *sūtra* is its failure to present any description of Akṣobhya that could be used as a focus for adoring meditation. We learn only trite, incidental details, like the fact that He emits a light that dims the sun and moon, or that wherever He walks thousand-petalled lotuses spring up.[8] He has no great Bodhisattvas to assist Him, and bring His ineffable mercies closer to mankind. His life is to be relatively brief, at least by the standards of Sukhāvatī; an elaborate description is given of the portents that will one day accompany His Nirvāṇa, and after that time, though His teaching will last for many aeons, it will decline and eventually disappear, as surely as Śākyamuni's.[9] The concluding paragraphs of the tract are once again weak where the Sukhāvatī texts are strongest. We learn there that Akṣobhya knows all and sees all that happens elsewhere in the universe.[10] Virtuous men and women are known to Him by name. Anyone who receives, chants, and holds to His *sūtra*, and prays for rebirth in Akṣobhya's land, will be seen by Him; "and at the time of that person's death, the Buddha will keep him in mind, lest he be seized by the host of demons and diverted from his prayer. He will not again return to this life, but must win what he prayed for, and attain the peerless, true Way." This is all well enough by ordinary standards, but lamentably weak as a competitor to Amitāyus' welcome.

One detail in the *sūtra* which just possibly may aid in localizing its origin, is its stress on the supreme virtue which won the Buddha His name "Akṣobhya." He is so called because in the remote past as a Bodhisattva He trained Himself to be "without anger." This is a curious asset to be signalled out in the personality of a Buddha, who should be passionless as a first definition. It is not strange against a background of other religions, where gods are naturally wrathful; and once more it is tempting to think of Marcion's "good God," who was so clearly differentiated from the angry Creator of the Old Testament.[11]

Bhaiṣajyaguru:

Almost nothing can be said with certainty about the origins and early history of the Buddha of Healing. In China He was the last of the great Buddhas to win a position of major importance. The first orthodox translation of His basic *sūtra* was made only in 615, at the end of the Sui. It was not until the T'ang dynasty that His name began to appear frequently and at the highest level, along with those of Śākyamuni, Amitābha, and Maitreya. At that time He was widely celebrated not only as the personification of divine healing, but also as the Lord of the East and the master of a Paradise of His own (having in these last two respects taken the place of the little-loved Akṣobhya).

It is certain, however, that Bhaiṣajyaguru was known and worshipped in the Six Dynasties. To be sure, the two or three dedications to Him that have survived in the North are far from impressive. Against these may be set the fact that He is represented in the earliest surviving Buddha image in Japan, the Yakushi on the altar of the Hōryūji Kondō, which was made in an attempt to prolong the life of a sick Emperor.[12] The statue's inscription tells that it was completed in 607, as the result of a vow made twenty years earlier, in the last illness of the Emperor Yōmei. At that time the Japanese were novices in Buddhism, and the choice of such a remedy must have been suggested to them by Korean missionaries,

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 755c, 756a, b.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 755b, 756c.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 760b–761b.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 763a.

[11] See above, p. 147.
[12] On this image, see my "Notes on Hōryūji and the Sculpture of the 'Suikō Period'," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 2, 1951, pp. 82ff.

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most likely by monks from their ally on the southwest side of the Korean peninsula, Pekche.

Almost no details are known about the state of Buddhism in sixth century Korea, but we can be sure that the cult of Bhaiṣajyaguru was introduced there from China, perhaps several decades or even several generations earlier. The geographical and political situation of Pekche make three continental sources possible, for the Koreans sent embassies to both the Southern and Northern Chinese courts, and in addition were close neighbors of the Shantung promontory. Of these the southern route is the most likely, since we know from another source that the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru had been introduced to the Nanking Chinese at least by the early years of the Sung dynasty. The Chinese Tripiṭaka, indeed, contains a tract on the Healing Buddha that is clearly derived from the same sort of source as those used by the translators of Sui and T'ang, and is attributed to the Western missionary Śrīmitra, who worked at Nanking from about 310 to 340. To be sure, close scrutiny makes it difficult to accept this work and its alleged translator at face value. It is not an independent book, to begin with, but merely the twelfth and last chapter of a collection that may most conveniently be referred to as the Abhiṣeka *sūtras*, *Kuan Ting Ching*.[13] As a whole this last is a very curious composition. Its chief concern is with defensive magic. The first ten chapters are all designed to offer the aid of enormous numbers of guardian deities against the assaults of demons, wild beasts, venomous snakes, etc.; even the monk troubled by mosquitoes is promised supernatural aid.[14] There is a great deal of repetition, since the magical chapters are not essentially different from each other; much of the text is taken up by long lists of guardians' names, set out in groups governed by such numbers as five, seven, nine, and twelve. Certain recurring details or whole passages are unmistakably of Chinese origin. One paragraph describes Chinese burial practises, and another the persecutions of Chinese Buddhism by "petty rulers".[15] There are tell-tale references to the appearances of the phoenix and the unicorn, and to sage Kings.[16] The Buddha speaks of having sent "three Sages" to convert China, who must be Lao-tzu, Confucius, and Yen-hui.[17] Celestial rulers are described in groups of five — for the four cardinal points and the center — with attributes derived from Han cosmology; the eastern deity corresponds to the Green Dragon, the southern to the Red Bird, and so on. These signs of a corrupted or even an entirely spurious text are reinforced by the information furnished in the Chinese bibliographies. It is the Sui list, in the *Li-tai San Pao Chi*, vii, that first ascribes a "great" *Kuan Ting Ching* to the missionary Śrīmitra.[18] The early sixth century *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, ii, on the other hand, lists no such title among Śrīmitra's works. At the same time this earlier authority names under the heading "Lost Canonical Books" eleven *sūtras* whose titles are exactly those of the first eleven chapters of the extant Abhiṣeka collection.[19] It is natural to conclude that these latter represent either an out-and-out Chinese forgery, or an imaginative reconstruction from the fragments of damaged originals. A possible *terminus post quam* for this part of the collection may be given by its reference to "petty realms inside China where the truth goes unrecognized and there are no rites of worship; where men know only how to kill and lack merciful hearts . . . where they wish to eradicate the Three Treasures and halt the preaching of the Dharma, to destroy the pagodas and to exterminate the clergy."[20] This might well be a Southern Bud-

[13] *Daizōkyō*, XXI, no. 1331.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 496c.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 512b.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 525a.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 512b.
[18] *Ibid.*, IL, p. 69a.
[19] *Ibid.*, LV, pp. 10a, 31a, b. On this problem see Sakaino, *Shina Bukkyō Seishi*, pp. 276ff.
[20] *Daizōkyō*, XXI, p. 512b.

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dhist reaction to the great Northern Wei proscription of 445.

Furthermore a later section in the same Liang bibliography on 'spurious scriptures" includes a so-called *Kuan Ting Ching* in one chapter, which the editor states was abridged in 457 by a certain monk Hui-chien from another work of the same name.[21] A note tells that this Chinese composition was also known as the "*Sūtra* of Bhaiṣajyaguru of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli", or as the "Abhiṣeka *Sūtra* that Wipes out the Sins of the Past and Gives Release from Reincarnation"; and adds that the work "was followed by a ceremony designed to lengthen life, and so enjoyed a very wide circulation."

All this last sounds very much like a description of the Bhaiṣajyaguru chapter that terminates the present set of Abhiṣeka *sūtras*; and so points to the strong likelihood that at least part of it is also Chinese in origin. One inconvenience that results from this is the impossibility of explaining with any certainty the frequent divergences between this earliest Bhaiṣajyaguru tract and those of the Sui and T'ang periods. They may reflect the earlier stage of a Sanskrit text common to all the basic translations (for there are more similarities than divergences, and some sort of common Western origin is unmistakable). On the other hand they may, at least in some cases, be alterations carried out by the monk Hui-chien.

We can be sure of just one portion of the lost chapter that Hui-chien abridged. Another chapter of the Liang bibliography lists excerpts from sacred writings of all sorts that the editor had found of particular value, and so had drawn together into a *florilegium*. A section quoted from the genuine Abhiṣeka *sūtras* is included there, by title; and we are told that it had to do with "the seven-tiered lamp, the five-colored banners, and the release of living creatures".[22]

At this point it is possible to make a direct comparison between all four Bhaiṣajyaguru translations. To begin with, the Abhiṣeka chapter runs:[23]

"The Bodhisattva Saving and Freeing said to the Buddha: 'If there should be some man or woman, gently born, who is desperately ill and lies on his bed in pain and distress, without anyone to aid or to defend him; I now must urge and beg the priesthood to fast wholeheartedly for seven days and nights, keeping to the Eight Commandments,[24] and carrying out ritual processions at the six hours of the day. Let this *sūtra* be read in its entirety forty-nine times. I urge them to light a seven-tiered lamp, and to hang up parti-colored, life-lengthening spirit-banners... These should be forty-nine feet long. The seven-tiered lamps should have seven lights per tier, following a form like a cart-wheel. Again, should [such a person] fall into danger or be imprisoned, with fetters loading down his body, he should have parti-colored spirit-banners made and forty-nine lamps lit, and should release various kinds of living creatures, to the number of forty-nine...'"

All of the three later translations stipulate in addition that seven images of the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru should be made, and that seven lamps should be placed in front of each image; each lamp to be the size of a cart-wheel and all to burn uninterruptedly for forty-nine days.[25] This multiplication of statues has the flavor of an age moving toward Tantrism. Indeed, the latest Chinese version, done by I-ching in 707, explains in

[21] *Ibid.*, LV, p. 39a.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 90c.

[23] *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 535b.

[24] For a definition of these, see W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, pp. 36–37.

[25] The three, in chronological order, are Nanjio's 170, 171, and 172, reprinted in *Daizōkyō*, XIV, as nos. 449, 450, and 451 respectively: Dharmagupta's *Yao-shih Ju-lai Pen Yüan Kung Te Ching* of 615; Hsüan-tsang's *Yao-shih Liu-li Kuang Ju-lai Pen Yüan Kung Te Ching* of 650; and I-ching's *Yao-shih Liu-li Kuang Ch'i Fo Pen Yüan Kung Te Ching* of 707. The second has been translated into English by W. Liebenthal, *The Sūtra of the Lord of Healing*, Peking, 1936 (Buddhist Scriptures Series, no. 1). The passages occur on pp. 404a, 407c, 415a, in *Daizōkyō*.

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detail that Bhaiṣajyaguru is the leader of the group of seven Buddhas with Paradises in the East, all of whom have vowed to aid weak and suffering humans.[26]

The comparative simplicity of the Abhiṣeka chapter version seems a good guarantee of its authenticity. Nowhere in the text is there any mention of seven images. In one passage that merits translation a single statue is recommended (the practise, incidentally, that must have been followed by the Japanese at Hōryūji).[27]

"The Buddha said to Mañjuśrī: 'Any worthy man or woman who decides to set up an image of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Tathāgata of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli, should adore and worship it by hanging up parti-colored banners and canopies, burning incense and scattering flowers, and singing hymns of praise and joy, making a hundred circumambulations around the throne. Then he should sit formally and compose his mind to think on the innumerable virtues of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli. A man or woman who for seven days and seven nights maintains a long fast, eating only vegetarian food, in adoration and worship of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli, will assuredly gain whatever he had prayed for in his seeking heart. He who seeks for long life will gain long life; he who seeks wealth will gain wealth; he who seeks peace will gain peace; he who seeks a son or a daughter will get a son or a daughter; he who seeks official rank will gain official rank. If at the end of his life he wishes to be born in some wonderfully happy Heaven on high, he must again worship Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli, in His most perfect and universal Enlightenment. Should he wish to be born on high among the Thirty-three Gods, he must again worship the Buddha of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli, and he will assuredly win rebirth there. Should he wish to find himself in the company of enlightened teachers for ages to come, he must again worship that Buddha of the Rays of Lapis Lazuli . . . Should he wish to be born in any of the wondrously happy lands of the Ten Quarters . . . Should he wish to be born in the Tuṣita Heaven and see Maitreya . . .' (etc.)"

All four translations assign to Bhaiṣajyaguru (who so obligingly promises to dispatch the worshipper wherever else he may wish to go for rebirth) a Paradise of His own, in the East: "equal to the Western; there is no difference between the two."[28] (The proponents of the healing cult obviously hoped to borrow an additional credit for their Lord from the popularity of His rival in the West). The Sui and T'ang versions carry the imitation a degree farther by affirming that their land too holds no one born in a female body; the Abhiṣeka chapter makes the more modest claim that we have seen used for Akṣobhya's land also, that it is innocent of passion.

All the translations agree that the Buddha's host of countless Bodhisattvas is headed by a pair, the obvious counterpart of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, who represent Him and guard the treasury of His doctrine.[29] These statements are made briefly, however, and do not even include an attempt to copy Amitāyus' welcome. The two who stand in place of the Western Bodhisattvas have as little individuality or claim to devotion as Their banal names, "Sunlight" and "Moonlight," suggest; They are in no way featured as independent saviors. It is not surprising, then, that the Six Dynasty texts and inscriptions contain no reference to anyone praying for rebirth in the Paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru; where the teaching was known, it was overshadowed by the vastly more persuasive promises made on behalf of Amitāyus or Maitreya. (This was true also under the Sui and T'ang; Bhaiṣajyaguru's temporarily enormous popularity must have been due to His successes as a healer). The *sūtra's*

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 409b–413b.

[27] *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 533c–534a. Compare Hsüan-tsang's version in Liebenthal, pp. 15–16.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 533a; cf. *Daizōkyō*, XIV, pp. 402a, 405c, 413c.

[29] Same page references as in n. 28. Liebenthal, pp. 6–7.

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author, indeed, makes an extraordinarily humble tacit admission of the difficulties of meeting the competition of the other rebirth cults. In addition to the passage quoted above, we find that He will even assist those who falter on their way to the Amitāyus Paradise. Merely at the price of having heard His own name, He will send them at death eight Bodhisattvas to insure a magical rebirth, either in Sukhāvatī or in some Heaven above.[30]

The Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra*, and with it the personality of the Eastern Buddha Himself, seem to have been composed (as we would say) with scissors and paste, by an editor who neither cared to conceal his borrowings, nor was original enough to make extra profit on what he had taken. The eight death-bed guides, like the two Bodhisattvas of Paradise, are an apt illustration. All the *sūtra* translations mention the eight Bodhisattvas, but with the utmost brevity and in this one connection alone. Their names are given only in the Abhiṣeka chapter, perhaps because the later translators found them so obviously purloined that they had better be omitted; or perhaps because they represent one of the "improvements" made by the monk Hui-chien. They are said to be Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Akṣayamati, "Jewel-altar", Bhaiṣajyarāja, Bhaiṣajyasamudgata, and Maitreya. Number one is an absurdity because the passage about the eight is said to have been spoken by Śākyamuni to Mañjuśrī himself, as a revelation. Numbers two and three are obvious cases of abduction, and carry with them number four, who is the Bodhisattva in the "Lotus" chapter who asks Śākyamuni "why the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is so named." Number five I cannot find elsewhere. Numbers six and seven, the twin Bodhisattvas whose names are wellnigh identical to the Buddha's own (and out of whom I believe He may have been fashioned) should play some well-explained role in the *sūtra* as a whole, instead of being named only once in this mystifying way. The mention of Maitreya is a final piece of impudence.

The *sūtra* contains one other group of associates with a somewhat better-established role. This is a set of twelve, whom the Abhiṣeka chapter calls "demon-deities," and the later translations identify as "great Yakṣa Generals."[31] They have names like "Kumbhira", all ending in *ra;* each has a retinue of 7,000 others. Their function is to assist the Buddha by seeing that anyone who chants and keeps the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra* will be protected, and granted his prayers. Furthermore, the Abhiṣeka chapter says:

"Any man who is suddenly imperilled through illness should on that day take a five-colored skein of silk and knot our names into it. After his wishes have been fulfilled, by untying the knots he will cause others to obtain good fortune."[32]

It seems to me natural to assume that Bhaiṣajyaguru rose to His eventual great popularity first of all by being "promoted" out of the status of a Bodhisattva; His name can be traced back only to the fifth century because prior to that time He existed as the pair of lesser physician deities Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata (q. v. in the next chapter). We have, indeed, met a standing Bodhisattva figure entitled Bhaiṣajyaguru — and paired, in most irregular fashion, with an Avalokiteśvara, as attendants on a throned Maitreya — in a Lung-men niche of 525.[33] I believe that this "promotion" was a move made by some part of the Buddhist Church in order to meet the competition of Christianity. The element of supernatural healing had been conspicuously absent from early Buddhism. Almost no mercy cures are recorded of Śākyamuni in Hīnayāna texts; and even as late as the

[30] *Daizōkyō*, XXI, p. 533c; XIV, pp. 402c, 406b, 414b. Liebenthal, p. 11.

[31] *Daizōkyō*, XXI, p. 536a; XIV, pp. 404b, 408a, b, 416b. Liebenthal, pp. 24–25.

[32] Dharmagupta omits this passage entirely: Hsüan-tsang and I-ching omit the promise about untying.

[33] See above, p. 127.

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period when the character of the savior Avalokiteśvara was being composed, the classical summation of his rescues in the "Lotus" chapter makes no mention of diseases. (It is true that one of the verses that follow the prose summation speaks of his rescuing mankind from the "innumerable pains that beset the body," but this portion seems to have been added to the Sanskrit text at a much later date.)[34] On the other hand the highly elaborated biography of Śākyamuni given in the *Lalitavistara*, which seems to illustrate a post-"Lotus" phase of worship, praises the Buddha Himself several times as the "King of Medicines," or the "sovereign remedy"; by His use of the laws of medicine He sets the diseased and suffering ones firmly within the blessedness of Nirvāṇa.[35] This modernization of the character of Śākyamuni, and the even more emphatic act of creating a special healing Buddha, may well have been a Buddhist admission of the wide-spread popular influence exerted by Jesus' healing miracles throughout the Near and Middle East. If this rivalry did in fact exist, it must have involved an imitation of at least one or two of the details of the Christian story. Bhaiṣajyaguru is designated by a unique title, *guru*, "master", or "teacher", which belongs to no other Buddha, and which indeed has an exceptionally homely flavor among the other familiar terms of flattery; it must be a close equivalent to the title *rabbi* by which the first Christians knew their Master. The fact, again, that a divine Buddhist healer should be aided in His mission by twelve great volunteers recalls immediately the first gospel characterization of the Apostles as a group; they were the men to whom Jesus gave "power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease" (Matthew x, 1).

The fact that the prevailing tone of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra* is magical is sufficient to explain the difference between, for example, Simon Peter and the Yakṣa general Kumbhira; the Buddhist guardians belong to an age-old repertory of defense, in which evil and sickness are assailed by powers as terrible as the demons themselves.

Because the sphere of magic is one in which national boundaries are difficult to establish, the further parallels with non-Buddhist practises that I shall point out will be made with the utmost diffidence. The emphasis on the number seven and its multiples that we find in the rite *in extremis* is probably backed up by too widespread a preference for sevens throughout the Near and Middle East in ancient times to permit any sort of derivation. In view of the special power and prestige of Semitic magic, it may be of interest to cite the directions for carrying out an Assyrian rite of exorcism. I quote the French of Fossey:[36]

« Au matin, tu dresseras, devant Ea, Samaš, et Marduk, sept autels; tu installeras sept brûle-parfums, avec du cyprès; tu immoleras sept moutons; tu offriras la chair du côté droit, les reins, les *sume;* tu réprendras du vin de sésame. Ces images, a sept aunes devant le sacrifice tu les placeras . . . »

(The images set at a distance of seven ells in front of the altar were puppets, destined to receive by a symbolic transfer, all of the ills suffered by the patient).

Here again is a cultural phase very different in flavor from the Buddhist. Bhaiṣajyaguru's magic does away with blood-sacrifices and sorcerers' puppets. At the same time, since it is the product of an age profoundly colored by light-worship, it introduces the lamp as the first instrument of ritual; and if we are to deal with lamps in sevens,

[34] *Daizōkyō*, IX, p. 58a; translation by S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, London, 1871, p. 396, par. 17. The Sanskrit text translated in *SBE*, p. 415, is less specific. The same comparison can be made between the third century translation of the Vimalakīrti *sūtra* and Kumārajīva's: *Daizōkyō*, XIV, pp. 519c and 537a. The latter adds a line calling Śākyamuni "King of Physicians." Cf. also note 84 in the chapter "Minor Deities."

[35] Translated by P. E. Foucaux in *Annales du musée Guimet*, VI, 1884: see pp. 152, 155, 159, 164, 300, 303.

[36] C. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, Paris, 1902, pp. 133–134.

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it is impossible not to think of the seven-branched candlestick of the Israelites (Exodus, xxv, 31–37), or of the "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God" (Revelations, iv, 5).

The curious injunction given by the twelve "Generals," to knot their names in silk as a protection against illness, may be linked with a roughly similar idea outlined at least twice in the other Abhiṣeka chapters. In the second, for example, which promises the protection of twelve myriads of "Divine Monarchs" to nuns in distress or under temptation, a routine regime of worship and supplication is outlined. Then we are told:[37]

"If among the worshippers there should be any dull-witted nuns who are unable to read and chant this tract but can only write and keep it, let [each] make a pouch of fine silk, in which to place it; so that when she wishes to come and go, she may for the occasion wear [the pouch] at the front of her robe, as a result of which every place that she visits will be blessed by the guardianship of goodness, and any demons there may be will be spontaneously defeated . . . If in future ages anyone copies out and keeps this tract, wearing it wound about his body, he will have nothing to fear should he travel through all the Ten Quarters."

These two injunctions, taken together, strongly recall the Hebrew practise of wearing the *tefillin* or phylactery: a pouch worn as a talisman, containing quotations from the holy books, and held by straps knotted so as to form two of the letters that make up the name Shaddai, "Almighty". This practise is attested by Jewish writers as far back as the fourth or third centuries B. C.[38] Its origin lies in an order supposedly given the Israelites at the time of the Exodus:

"And thou shalt bind [these words – the commandments, statutes and judgments given thee this day] for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes" (Deuteronomy vi, 8; also xi, 18)

The trite names given the two Bodhisattvas who serve as Bhaiṣajyaguru's adjutants in Paradise, "Sunlight" and "Moonlight", raise many memories. Perhaps the closest are two Iranian instances: first the practise of the Sasanian shah of calling himself "brother to the sun and moon";[39] and then the similar relationship illustrated on the cylindrical Kaniṣka reliquary, where that monarch is shown standing with the busts of the sun and moon, on either side of him.[40]

It is at first sight surprising to find *eight* Bodhisattvas named as guides in the Abhiṣeka chapter. If the latter were not available, and we knew the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra* only through Sui and T'ang translations, it would be natural to interpret the number as a sign of proto-Tantric influence: eight deities grouped in a circle around one superior are the central iconographic statement of the *maṇḍala*. The Abhiṣeka instance is not alone among early translations, however: an anonymous one ascribed to the Eastern Chin period is the "Spell *Sūtra* of the Great *Dhāraṇī* Spoken by the Seven Buddhas and the Eight Bodhisattvas".[41] At least by the period of the

[37] *Daizōkyō*, XXI, p. 501b.

[38] Jewish Encyclopedia, New York, 1905, under "Phylacteries." For knots in general, see also J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1915, under "Knots"; and J. G. Frazer, *Taboo (The Golden Bough*, III), 3rd. ed. London, 1914, pp. 293ff., "Knots and rings tabooed."

[39] So Sapor II is said to have termed himself in a letter to Constantine; see Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii, 5, 3 (p. 134 in the translation by C. D. Yonge, London, 1911).

[40] *Arch. Survey of Ind.*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1908–1909, "Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī," pp. 49ff.

[41] The *Ch'i Fo Pa P'u-sa So Shuo Ta T'o-lo-ni Shen Chou Ching: Daizōkyō*, XXI, no. 1332. The Buddhas named are those of the past, culminating in Śākyamuni. The Bodhisattvas are Mañjuśrī, Ākāśagarbha, Avalokiteśvara, "Saving and Freeing" (the deity named as assistant expositor in the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra)*, Bhadrapāla, Mahāsthāma, Mahāsthāmaprāpta (these two written Te Ta Shih-chih and Ta Shih-chih, the variant character meaning "to obtain"), and "Strong and Brave." The list looks like a catch-all, so perfunctorily assembled that the same deity appears twice under nearly identical names.

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great Indian epics and the Hinduist Purāṇas, the number eight had acquired a new momentousness by the custom of counting eight cardinal points instead of four (the change, of course, lies behind the Buddhist habit of counting the Ten Quarters of Space, which include up and down). There are eight Hinduist Lokapālas; and doubtless it was this same cosmological formula, which was in time to be so intensively cultivated by the Tantric Buddhists, that was picked up and used perfunctorily by the jackdaw author of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra*.

One detail found in the Abhiṣeka chapter alone may divert the search for Bhaiṣajyaguru origins in a different direction. One passage begins:[42]

"King Yama keeps a register of the names of everyone in the world. When anyone commits an unlawful deed for an evil purpose; or commits any of the five deadly sins[43] with an unfilial or disobedient heart; or sets to naught the proper relationship of ruler and subject; or fails to hold to the five commandments,[44] or to believe in the true Law; and supposing also that his victims have suffered great outrages: then the underground demon deities and the Watchers send in reports to the Five Officials. The latter take the case under consideration, and select a means of disposal by death and a type of rebirth. Sometimes they note down the fact that they have not yet decided the soul's case; but if they have made up their minds they make their report to Yama, who looks it over, studies the degree of gravity of the offenses committed, and renders the official decision."

The "Five Officials", Wu Kuan, are very rarely mentioned in Buddhist literature. They have no place in the standard, early descriptions of the Hells. I know of only one other passage that adds to our knowledge about them. In the early Liang dynasty encyclopedia *Ching Lü I-hsiang*, xlix, an otherwise unknown quotation from a certain *Ching Tu San-mei Ching* assigns the five separate judicial functions.[45] Murder is dealt with by the Hsien [Fire?][46] Official; robbery by the Water Official; lust by the Iron Official; lying by the Earth Official; and drunkenness by the Sky Official.

The group seems to have been little known in China, and by late T'ang at least had been entirely forgotten in favor of a set of Ten Kings.[47] The memory of the five was not completely obliterated, however; oddly enough, one of the Kings was named "Wu Kuan".

It is conceivable that the origin of the theme of five infernal judges was Chinese. "Wu Kuan" had been used in the late Chou dynasty both in a literal sense, to describe the five highest officials at the royal court, and symbolically to stand for the five senses; perhaps the theme is found in the Abhiṣeka chapter but not in any of the more canonical translation of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra* because it was recognized to be a spurious, Chinese addition to the original text. On the other hand, the one remarkably close parallel to the idea in non-Buddhist belief that I know is Manichaean: or more accurately, Manichaean under a Buddhist disguise. Among the texts written in Chinese that have been recovered from the cache at Tun-huang is a treatise in which what is clearly Manichaean dogma is set forth under a veneer of Buddhist terminology.[48]

[42] *Daizōkyō*, XXI, p. 535c.

[43] According to Hodous' and Soothill's *Dictionary*, p. 128 these five are: parricide, matricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and destroying the harmony of the Order.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[45] See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 1163b and 621. The encyclopedia was compiled by an Imperial order received in 508, through the joint editorship of a group of scholarly monks.

[46] The character *hsien*, rendered "Fire" by A. Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, London, 1931, p. xxviii, note 1, was perhaps used as a homophone for a more familiar one with the same meaning: cf. Giles' *Dictionary*, nos. 4467, 4525.

[47] Waley, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

[48] P. Pelliot and E. Chavannes, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Jour. As.*, 10th ser., XVIII, 1911, pp. 522–530.

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A detailed account is given of the step-by-step creation and elaboration of the universe. Among the early acts in which the principle of light was dominant, we find that "the five luminous bodies turned into the likeness of a prison, in which the five sorts of demons were shut up. The five sons of [the light envoy] Pure-wind became as it were magistrates governing the prison." When in turn this process was imitated by the Evil One in constructing the body of man as a microcosm and it too became a prison the "magistrates" chosen were hatred, irritation, lust, anger, and folly.

The Near Eastern flavoring of the whole passage about the judgment of sinners in the Abhiṣeka chapter is heightened by the mention of "Watchers" – in the Chinese, Tz'u-hou.[49] I have chosen to render their title by a familiar English term not only because of its convenience, but also because of a real similarity in characterization. A few other Buddhist texts of the early Mahāyāna period tell a little more about these beings, under such variant names as Tz'u-ming or Ssu-ming or Ssu-lu[50] (which mean roughly "Watchers of Destinies", "Keepers of Destinies", "Keepers of the Records"). They belonged to an apparatus of law-enforcement very different from the traditional impersonality of Karma, and presumably were borrowed from some non-Buddhist source as part of a widespread move toward humanization. The new myth, in brief, held that the function of surveillance over human activities belonged to the four monarchs of the cardinal directions, the Lokapālas. Their responsibilities were carried out by means of a staff of divine inspectors of various sorts, who visited the Earth on certain set days each month to observe and record human behavior.[51] This set of beliefs, incongruous and of little lasting importance in the whole context of Buddhist teaching, sounds like an echo of the ideas that appear in post-exilic Jewish literature. Zechariah (vi, 1–7), for example, describes a vision of four chariots linked to the four directions, whose drivers were "the four spirits of the heavens, which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth", and to whom He had said: "Get you hence, walk to and fro through the earth" (the commentators note that their mission was to find out and report on human activities).[52] First Enoch associates the four Archangels and the Watchers. The latter, as we learn from a variety of references, were a part of God's celestial hierarchy; some two hundred of them descended to mate with the daughters of Earth; Enoch tells that this was reported to the Lord by the Archangels, and that He commanded them to imprison the errant Watchers until the final judgment.[53] The status of the Watchers, at the same time, was equivocal; they were both celestial and infernal (as popular Buddhism must have imagined their counterparts the Tz'u-hou, who were associated both with the luminous, airy Heavens of the Lokapālas and the gloomy court of King Yama). A passage from the *Book of Jubilees* (iv, 15), a Midrashic commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus written probably toward the end of the second century B. C., draws the parallel closest of all:[54]

"In his [i. e. Jared's] days the angels of the Lord descended on the Earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the Earth."

(I do not suggest that the Buddhist doctrine of the Watchers, or the conception of the Four Lokapālas as celestial inspectors, can have been borrowed directly from Jewish sources. Both the Buddhist and the Jewish beliefs were doubtless offshoots; and their common source lay in

[49] See Quotations, Q.
[50] See Quotations, R.
[51] Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 1998–1999 under "Shimyō."
[52] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, p. 584 under "Angelology."
[53] S. B. Frost, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, London, 1952, p. 169 and note 14; also R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, London, 1921, p. 35 (cf. p. 59).
[54] *Encyclopedia Biblica*, New York and London, 1899, under "Watchers"; *Jewish Encyl.* under "Jubilees, Book of," p. 301.

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the region lying between the Mediterranean coast and Afghanistan, in the tangled proliferation of Iranian and Babylonian myths.)

I have pointed out various ways in which the ideas that coalesced to form the cult of Bhaiṣajyaguru may be traced back to their possible origins in the West. In view of the fact that almost none of the prototypes that I have suggested is Indian, it is appropriate to note in conclusion that:

The Healing Buddha is not mentioned by any of the Chinese pilgrims.

His image cannot be identified among early remains, even in Gandhāra.

He made so little impression on the Indian imagination at a later period that His name is not even included in the standard modern manual of Indian Buddhist iconography.[55]

Dīpaṁkara:

A widely-told Jātaka tale explains the reasons for Dīpaṁkara's celebrity: He was the first Buddha of the Past whose career crossed that of the being who was one day to become Śākyamuni. The familiar story describes its hero this time in the guise of a young Brahman, Sumedha or Sumatī, or Megha by name, whose overmastering desire is to meet and adore the Buddha of his day. Hearing that the Lord is to pass through a nearby town, he goes there, buys with great difficulty a bunch of flowers to use as an offering, and stations himself in waiting. As Dīpaṁkara approaches majestically with His retinue, the youth throws the flowers over the Buddha's head; and then, prostrating himself, offers his long hair as a carpet for the Buddha's feet. In return, Dīpaṁkara praises the intensity of his faith, and prophesies that in the far distant future he too will rise to Buddhahood.

The best-known Hīnayāna version of the story appears in the introduction to the great Pāli collection of Jātakas, translated and edited either by the early fifth century Buddhaghosa or by some anonymous scholar-monk at a not much later period.[56] The meeting with Dīpaṁkara is there stressed as a critical turning point in the future Śākyamuni's long spiritual advance. In the section immediately following, the editor presents a sort of *liber generationis* that names and praises not the actual ancestors of Śākyamuni, but His Buddha-predecessors, each of whom had in His Time met the aspirant for Nirvāṇa and prophesied his eventual success. In this set of prophets, which numbers twenty-four, Dīpaṁkara is the first. The total number of Buddhas named, however, is twenty-eight; prior to Dīpaṁkara there were three who never met the future Śākyamuni, while the twenty-eighth is listed as the latter Himself.

Although the Dīpaṁkara story spread so widely throughout Buddhist literature and belonged as much to Hīnayāna tradition as to Mahāyāna, I believe that its place of origin lay (like so much else) in the region of the northwest frontier. Hsüan-tsang's pilgrimage record localizes the cult of Dīpaṁkara at Nagarahāra (i.e. the neighborhood of Hadda, in southeast Afghanistan).[57] The Buddha's very name, which the Chinese translated by various pairs of characters with such meanings as "Constant Light", "Universal Light", "Blazing Torch", furnishes a strong argument for proximity to the Iranian light cult.[58] Whether or not the story was told in pre-Kushan times, its illustration in art began with the Gandhāran style, where it was often represented in narrative reliefs.[59] The provincial Gandhāran manner found at Shotorak in Afghanistan includes several stelae which reflect the special importance of Dīpaṁkara in that area by making

[55] Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*.

[56] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London and New York, n. d. (revised ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids), pp. 81 ff.

[57] In Beal's translation, I, p. 92.

[58] Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, p. 3696b under "Jōkō Nyōrai."

[59] Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, pp. 273 ff.

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Him an oversized icon, against whose colossal scale the other figures, even the future Śākyamuni, are dwarfed. The connection with light and fire made explicit by the meaning of His name is underlined in these Shotorak Buddhas by flames bursting from the shoulders.[60]

Even the collection of twenty-four Buddhas of the Past, which Dīpaṃkara heads, seems not entirely at home on Indian soil. The number twenty-four is rare in Buddhist numerology, and (so far as my notes show) unknown in the standard Brahmanical books. On the other hand it serves to characterize several Near Eastern groups of high importance.[61] Classical writers use it to define the Yazatas, the "adorable ones", of Zoroastrianism, and the star gods whom the Babylonians ranked next in importance to the Twelve of the zodiac. It enumerated for the Jews the sages who had written their sacred books; and for the Christians the Elders round the throne of God in *Revelations;* and for the Gnostic readers of the *Pistis Sophia*, a set of "Invisible Rulers." The Jātaka introduction, indeed, seems to reveal an Indian lack of interest in the number, by presenting it enclosed (so to speak) within the more familiar twenty-eight, standing for the lunar stations.

(The whole problem of the choice of numbers in Buddhism is an exceedingly complex one, which so far has gone almost wholly unexplained. A typical difficulty is illustrated by the contrast between the Pāli and the Sanskrit numbers that assign to Dīpaṁkara His position in the hierarchy of the past. The Pāli choice, as we have seen, fell on twenty-four and twenty-eight, figures that can be easily traced to the solar and lunar cycles. In the Sanskrit chronology, Dīpaṁkara appears most consistently as a predecessor not of Śākyamuni but of Amitābha-Amitāyus. In each of the versions of the longer Sukhāvatī *sūtra* He is named as the first of a series of Buddhas; the last of whom, Lokeśvara-rāja, meets and teaches a monk who is one day to become Amitābha. In Lokarakṣa's translation the series numbers thirty-eight; in "Chih-ch'ien's", thirty-four; in Saṃghavarman's, fifty-three; in the Sanskrit text used for the *Sacred Books of the East* translation, eighty-one.[62] None of these can be explained with the same simplicity as the Pāli numbers, and unless they were chosen at random I have no idea how to explain the variation).

It may be noted parenthetically that the Sanskrit texts of the North that show a special interest in the Dīpaṁkara story add accessory details or make changes that stress the light-and-fire motif.[63] His mother by one account was named Sun-and-moonlight. He is said to have created by supernatural means a city far more splendid than the royal capital of His time, and completely devoted to pleasure; and then to have destroyed it by fire as a moral lesson (recalling the fiery purge of evil from the world at the Iranian Last Judgment). The story-telling passion of early Mahāyāna finally found for Him a situation in the remotest past comparable to His meeting with

[60] J. Meunié, *Shotorak*, Paris, 1942, pls. III, X, XXX. Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India* (London, 1901, revised by J. Burgess), p. 143, illustrates a Guptan period relief from the Kaṇheri caves that publishes the *jātaka* with a similar formality and unnatural scale, but – as one would expect in India proper – omits the flames.

[61] The 24 Yazatas are mentioned by Plutarch, *De Iside* et *Osiride*, 47; the Babylonian deities by Diodorus Siculus, ii, 31. On the Elders see H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 305–308. For the *Pistis Sophia* see the translation by G. Horner, London, 1924, pp. xvii, xviii, 22, 89, 92. The 24 here are described as invisible emanations "out of the great Forefather Invisible." They are "of light more than the light of the sun which is in this world 10,000 times. There is not any appearance in this world, nor is there any light, nor is there shape comparable to the 24 Invisibles." My supposition of course requires that the 24 Tirthas of the Jain sect should be equally derivative, perhaps through Buddhism.

[62] Cf. *Daizōkyō*, XII, pp. 280a, 300b, c, 266c–267a, and *SBE*, p. 6.

[63] Primarily the *Ekottarāgama*, xi, xiii, xl; the *Dharmagupta Vinaya*, xxxi (Nanjio's no. 1117, *Daizōkyō*, XXII, no. 1428); the biographical *sūtras*, Nanjio's 664, 665, and 666 (*ibid.*, III, nos. 184, 185, 189 respectively), first *chüan;* and another biographical work, Nanjio's no. 1323, iii (*ibid.*, IV, no. 193).

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the young Brahman Sumedha. The "*Sūtra* on Wisdom and Folly", translated in 445 under the Northern Wei, describes Him in a previous life as an ardent monk, who won praise and a prophecy from the Buddha of that age, "Jewel-hair", by worshipping Him day in and day out with lighted lamps.[64]

We have seen that a painting "of the scholar-youth spreading out his hair before Dīpaṁkara" was executed in the 420's at a mountain hermitage near Canton by a just-arrived missionary from Kashmir, Guṇavarman (Sung entry 13).[65] The fairly frequent representations of the Buddha that we have met in other references probably show a typical Chinese respect for Him as a First Ancestor. In traditional Chinese terms, His relationship with Śākyamuni must have seemed comparable to the mysterious bond of understanding that united the Duke of Chou with the latter's devout admirer, Confucius.

Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Krakucchanda:

See under the Seven Buddhas of the Past.[66]

Prabhūtaratna:

Of all the Buddhas with a claim to individuality, Prabhūtaratna must have been the most narrowly limited in His appeal to the faithful. He has only one setting, one function, one reason to be mentioned. Properly speaking, He belongs in the immeasurably distant past, and is so remote a figure that (if my notes are correct) no attempt was made to assign Him any numerical place among the predecessors of Śākyamuni. In one of the apocalyptic climaxes of the "Lotus Sūtra" we are told that His funerary *stūpa* has been preserved, through innumerable ages, to appear whenever the True Law is preached; and thus it emerges out of the ground, immense and covered with jewels, to hover in the air before the astonished eyes of Śākyamuni's audience on the Vulture Peak.[67] In preparation for the second act of the miracle the hosts of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from all the Ten Quarters assemble in Their glory and descend to join the company on the peak. To honor the occasion, the Earth is transformed and purified, taking on the likeness of some Paradise like Amitābha's (though the *sūtra* does not say so in so many words). Its common materials turn into precious ones, and all of its natural irregularities — human habitations, seas, rivers, mountains, and forests — disappear. Then, because the Earth itself is too limited in size to accomodate the multitude of visitors from the whole of space, its boundaries are miraculously extended over a vast surrounding area, which in turn is made ideally smooth and regular. When the assemblage is complete, Śākyamuni rises into the air, and with a right finger touches the door of the *stūpa*.

"There is a great noise, like the clattering of locks when the gateway of a great city is opened; and instantly the whole assembled host sees the Tathāgata of Manifold Treasures, Prabhūtaratna, seated on a lion throne in the midst of the Treasure *Stūpa*, with His body whole, not disintegrated, as if He were in an ecstatic trance. And they hear him say: 'Excellent, excellent, O Śākyamuni Buddha; make haste to preach the Lotus *Sūtra*, for it is to hear that *sūtra* that I have come hither.'"[68]

The audience rejoices at the wonder, and scatters flowers on the two Lords. "Then the Buddha of Manifold Treasures within the *stūpa* shares His throne with the Buddha Śākyamuni, saying these words: 'O Śākyamuni Buddha, Thou mayest take this throne.' Thereupon the Buddha Śākyamuni enters into the *stūpa* and sits on

[64] Nanjio's no. 1322: *Daizōkyō*, IV, no. 202.
[65] See above, p. 43.
[66] See below, pp. 198ff.
[67] *Daizōkyō*, IX, pp. 102bff., 32bff.; Kern's translation, pp. 227ff. Kumārajīva's text has been Englished by Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, Oxford, 1930; here pp. 157ff.
[68] Quoted from *Daizōkyō*, IX, p. 32b, c.

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His half of the throne in a squatting position . . ."[69]

This incident was probably invented in order to demonstrate as forcibly as possible the new Mahāyāna thesis that Buddha-hood is not affected by the passage of time, and that Nirvāṇa is not a complete extinction and disappearance. It is the dramatic prologue to the revelation made by Śākyamuni several chapters later, that He has been a Buddha not for a few years only on this Earth, but for countless aeons, and that He will continue to exist throughout the imaginable future.[70] Prabhūtaratna's miraculous *stūpa* is thus a sort of symbolic epitome of the *sūtra*'s central dogma. This fact very probably determined its special use in early Chinese Buddhist art. As Leroy Davidson has so competently shown,[71] some sort of allusion to the *stūpa* and to the holy book behind it is very frequently met in surviving Six Dynasties sculpture. The reference is unmistakable when two identical squatting figures are shown within some sort of architectural enclosure. Presumably a single figure in meditation, and framed in a similar way, may indicate the moment when the *stūpa* door was first opened.

Davidson's evidence combines with mine to show that while the subject was a highly popular one in the later fifth and sixth centuries, it was usually relegated to a secondary position. There are no texts to tell of the manufacture either of single images of Prabhūtaratna or of paired statues showing Him seated alongside Śākyamuni. Among the inscriptions there are a few references only. In the great majority of cases the image-makers must have been content to use the theme as a sort of special attribute for Śākyamuni as the preacher of the "Lotus". So they would place the *stūpa* symbol at small scale above the main icon, or render it by engraving or in low relief on the reverse of a stele that held a preaching Buddha on the front.

The wide prevalence of such allusions to the "Lotus" miracle was of course due to the extraordinary popularity enjoyed by the *sūtra* itself. A rough indication of the degree to which it was used by the priests of the period — chanted, explained, or simplified for popular sermons — is given by the fact that in the *Kao Seng Chuan* it is mentioned in all such connections far more often than any other *sūtra* (fifty-six times, as against twenty-eight for its nearest competitor, the Vimalakīrti discourse, and only eight for the Amitāyus *sūtra*.)[72]

Śākyamuni:

The fact that the historic Buddha was able to retain so much popular favor throughout the Six Dynasties period may be explained by a variety of reasons. To the literal-minded Chinese, He must have seemed the most real of all the sacred persons, particularly since the great sites and monuments associated with His career in India could be visited by Chinese pilgrims. To those who read widely in the canonical literature, He remained the most familiar and the closest figure, by being the eternal preacher of all *sūtras*. Even Amitāyus was in a sense accessible through Him;[73] He was the fountain-head of all higher knowledge, a Buddhist Word Incarnate. To all but the few priests who were letter-perfect in Hīnayāna dogmas again, the fact that He was said to have entered Nirvāṇa centuries before can

[69] The Sanskrit text used by Kern, p. 364, adds a further joint miracle in which the two Buddhas stretch out Their tongues to reach as far as Brahmā's heaven. Kumārajīva's version attributes this to Śākyamuni alone. Dharmarakṣa's prose omits it entirely, speaking only in general terms of miracles accomplished by Śākyamuni; his verses include a reference (*Daizōkyō*, pp. 51c, 124a, c). These variations suggest a gingerly treatment of a detail that must have seemed to the Chinese bizarre or offensive.

[70] See below, pp. 182 ff.

[71] L. Davidson, *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, New Haven, 1954.

[72] Noted in the index to *Kao SC* provided in the *Journal of the History of Chinese Buddhism*, III, 1938 (in Japanese).

[73] See above, p. 145.

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have brought no terrifying ideas of extinction and inaccessibility. He had passed into another order of existence; but there was no need to think of Him as any more remote from the needs and prayers of His living followers than were Confucius and Lao-tzu.

In addition to such sources of endurance as these, Śākyamuni benefited by the support of an important and very energetic faction within Mahāyāna itself. A major part of the purpose of the "Lotus *Sūtra*", for example, is to redeem Him from the position of relative insignificance into which He had been pushed by the propagandists for Maitreya and Amitāyus. An effective dialectic device that is returned to again and again in the Paradise *sūtras* is to praise the promised land and its Lord by a contrast with the misery and meanness of Śākyamuni's realm on Earth. The world that we know is not only full of sorrow and pain, and darkened by its terrifying closeness to Hell; it is also a poor world, without any of the splendor of a Paradise. Its inhabitants not only lead lives that are "nasty, poor, brutish, and short", but in the physical sense as well they are hardly better than insects by comparison with the heroic size and beauty of the blest. Śākyamuni Himself, the Paradise *sūtras* insinuate, is far less impressive to contemplate than His rivals; to cap all the other limitations of His power, we know that He walked among men in a body hardly larger than theirs, and instead of living in serene majesty for an eternity, chose to pass on at the end of a normal human lifetime, as the result of something very like a normal human sickness.[74]

The whole of the original "Lotus Sūtra" — leaving out of consideration the last six chapters, which are clearly extraneous, and presumably represent an addition to the core — is a highly effective rebuttal to this type of criticism. In it we meet Śākyamuni as the supreme master of two orders of existence, both the terrestrial and the eternal, ruling both on the human stage and against the setting of the whole universe. Two sections of the *sūtra* are of particular importance in this regard. In one we find the Buddha asserting His supremacy over time. The apparent brevity of His life on Earth is an illusion, deliberately created as a "device" (in Chinese *fang-pien*,[75] in Sanskrit *upāya)* suited to the specific needs of the age. (One of the recurrent themes in the "Lotus" is the necessity for such *upāya* in leading creatures to salvation: the religious teacher's need to vary his methods as widely as necessary, to meet changing conditions.)

The Buddha, we are told, has not been preaching and converting for a few years only, since His Enlightenment at Bodhgāya.[76] His career as a savior has extended through countless ages; He was first enlightened and became a Buddha in the unimaginably remote past. Similarly, He will not enter Nirvāṇa and disappear: that, too, is a necessary fiction, preached by Him deliberately to hearers not ready to receive the full truth.[77] The doctrine is most compactly presented in a versified repetition. The Buddha promises there that He will never really disappear, but will always dwell here and go on preaching, through the use of His supernatural powers. The unenlightened, though still close to Him, will be unable to see Him, to be sure, and the great majority will think Him lost in Nirvāṇa, and so worship His relics.

"But when they cherish a deep devotion and have allowed their longing hearts to grow within them; when the host of beings has submitted through faith, has become upright and gentle in mind, and with one heart desires to see the Buddha, without any grudging concern for their own persons: then I and my host of monks will

74 The texts assembled by Przysluski in *Le Concile de Rājagrha*, *Jour. As.* Paris, 1926–28, show that even the Hīnayāna doctors were troubled by Śākyamuni's too-human lifespan. They accepted it as part of the Master's own plan; but showed their perplexity by inventing a story that Ānanda had been roundly scolded by the other disciples for not persuading Him to change His mind.

75 See Quotations, S.

76 *Daizōkyō*, IX, pp. 42b, 113b; Kern's translation, p. 299, Soothill's, p. 200.

77 In the same texts, pp. 42c, 113c, 302, 203 respectively.

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appear together on the Vulture Peak. At that time I shall make all beings recognize that I dwell here forever and shall not disappear; that it was for the effectiveness of an *upāya* that I revealed myself as lost in Nirvāṇa, I who am not lost. Wherever in other regions there are creatures who are reverent and rejoice in their faith, I shall be in their midst also, to preach the unsurpassable Law . . ."

"Through aeons of ages I shall remain always on this Vulture Peak and in those other dwelling-places. And when all living creatures meet the end of an age, in the day when [all else] is consumed by the great fire, this land of mine shall remain at peace, ever full of gods and men, with its parks and palaces adorned by every sort of treasure and its jewel trees laden with a multitude of blossoms and fruit. Here all beings will take their pleasure, while the gods beat their celestial drums, continually making music, and rain down heavenly blossoms over the Buddha and His mighty host. My 'Pure Land' will not be destroyed, while all else is seen to be consumed utterly . . ."

"Thus those sinful ones whose *karma* is evil, through aeons of ages will not hear the name of the Three Treasures; while those who have practised good works and who are gentle and upright, will all see My person, here where I preach the Law . . ."[78]

It is natural to assume that the Paradise theme found here was borrowed by the "Lotus" composer from the earlier established cults of Amitāyus or Maitreya; even the term "Pure Land" used in Kumārajīva's translation is the one that came to be a standard equivalent for "Sukhāvatī." Though the Six Dynasties inscriptions reveal no such widespread hope of rebirth in Śākyamuni's Paradise as in those of His two great rivals, the Vulture Peak was accepted as a theoretically equivalent goal; and when (by the T'ang dynasty at least) the concept of the promised land was standardized into a set of four Paradises, linked to the cardinal directions, Śākyamuni's was naturally included in the group.

The other important thesis of the "Lotus" is divulged in the chapter that describes the miraculous appearance of Prabhūtaratna's *stūpa*.[79] As the stage for this wonder is enlarged to take in the whole of the universe, we are told that Śākyamuni's power first made it possible for His audience to see the countless throngs of the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters, in Their domains in outer space, each preaching the Law on a lion-throne under a tree; and then invited these beings down to join His own throng. Here is the principle of the plurality of Buddha-hood in its characteristic form; but the texts make it clear that for the author of the "Lotus" oneness is superimposed on infinity, in the person of Śākyamuni. In Dharmarakṣa's translation of 286, all these other Buddhas are called "magically-created images", *hua hsing-hsiang*. In Kumārajīva's version of 406 they are "Buddhas divided out of His Person", *fen shen Fo*.[80]

The historic Buddha, who in the eyes of His first followers seemed to be born of human parents at Kapilavastu and to live only a normal human span, is thus transformed into a being supreme over the whole of space as well as time. One other phrase needed to complete His characterization is given in several passages of the "Lotus": He is "the Father of all worlds." (It is interesting to see that Dharmarakṣa is less free with this epithet, which brings Śākyamuni strikingly close to His one-time rival Brahmā, than Kumārajīva; the process of building-up the Buddha's divinity clearly continued in the period between the two translations).[81]

For the "Lotus", then, Śākyamuni is a being

[78] Abbreviated from the verses in Kumārajīva's version, p. 43b, c, and Soothill, p. 206. The comparable, but less effectively phrased passage in Dharmarakṣa's is on pp. 114c–115a.

[79] See above, p. 180.

[80] Pp. 103b and 32c respectively. See Quotations, T.

[81] Pp. 13a, 43c, 75c: Soothill, pp. 89, 208.

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both immanent and transcendent; and in the latter sense He occupies the position that the later theologians were to name the "primary" or Ādi Buddha (and in one sect to distinguish as Vairocana).

In one other respect the "Lotus" must have contributed materially to the importance of Śākyamuni in Mahāyāna art. Its famous passage on the infinite meritoriousness of making images must have generally been interpreted as a reference to representations of the divine speaker Himself. Here again it is instructive to compare the two early Chinese translations. Kumārajīva's rendering is much more clear and coherent:[82]

"All men who for the Buddha's sake have set up images, carving out and perfecting all the identifying marks, all such have fulfilled the Buddha Way. Whether these have been made of the seven precious substances, or of brass, or of red or white bronze, or of pewter, or of lead, or of tin, or of iron, or of wood; or have been put together out of clay, or of glued and lacquered cloths, so as to fashion splendidly adorned Buddha images; all such men, all of them, have fulfilled the Buddha Way. Those who have had painted icons made, with their splendid signs of manifold blessings, whether they did these themselves or had others do so for them, have all of them fulfilled the Buddha Way. Even small boys in their play, who with grasses and sticks, or with a pen, or even with a fingernail, have drawn images of the Buddha; all such persons as these, by gradually piling up their stores of merit, and becoming fully merciful of heart, have all of them fulfilled the Buddha Way."

The outstanding difference in Dharmarakṣa's version of the promise is his omission of the most extreme clause. He has nothing to say about "small boys in their play," either here or in the preceding paragraph (where Kumārajīva offers the same reward to children who pile up sand to make a *stūpa*).[83] In this detail the development in the "Lotus'" teaching that occurred during the fourth century took the all-too-familiar Mahāyāna form of a progressive relaxation of requirements.

Both Dharmarakṣa's list of the permissible media for Buddhist images, and that given in the Sanskrit text translated in the *Sacred Books of the East* series,[84] are much less comprehensive than Kumārajīva's. That fact, and Kumārajīva's inclusion of lacquer (about which the others are silent) suggest that the translation of 406 drew as much on contemporary Chinese practise as on the phrasing of the original.

A further source of strength for the position of Śākyamuni in Mahāyāna art lay in His selection by the meditative school of which I have spoken earlier,[85] to be one of the group of deities worshipped through the technique of visualization. Śākyamuni's advocate among what I have called the *kuan sūtras* is the "*Sūtra* on the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy Attained by Visualizing the Buddha," translated by Buddhabhadra some time between 398 and 421, at the Southern court.[86] This is the longest composition in the series, and by far the most varied in subject matter. Its scope, in fact, is so broad that it might almost as justifiably be assigned to the Hīnayāna canon as to the Mahāyāna. A great deal of the text is devoted to stories about Śākyamuni's life; and though these are retold in the florid vein that is most familiar in Mahāyāna literature, and are permeated by the miraculous, the general effect is not very different from that reached in the latest Hīnayāna narratives. The work is conservative, again, in glorifying the great disciples of the Buddha rather than the great Bodhisattvas. A few of the latter, notably Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra,[87] are named in passing as

[82] *Daizōkyō*, pp. 8c–9a: Soothill, pp. 76–77.
[83] *Daizōkyō*, p. 71a, b.
[84] Kern, pp. 50–51.
[85] See above, pp. 144ff.
[86] Nanjio's no. 430, the *Kuan Fo San-mei Hai Ching: Daizōkyō*, XV, no. 643.
[87] See below, p. 223.

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participants in the miracles, or as members of the Buddha's audience who may occasionally be given a speaking role. The figure on whom the highest degree of reflected luster shines, however, is Ānanda, who is introduced again and again as a "beloved disciple", cherished not only by his historic master Śākyamuni, but by the other six Buddhas of the Past, and even by all the Buddhas of the Four Quarters, or of the Ten.[88]

Part of this conservatism may be attributed to the fact that the "Sea" *sūtra* was translated a generation or two earlier than the other members of the *kuan* group. The rest must be due to its origin in some sect that preferred to retain an unusually high degree of Hīnayāna coloring, within a generally Mahāyāna environment. Internal evidence in the book makes it possible to suggest an actual headquarters at which the *sūtra* may have been composed. The most exhaustively told episode in the Buddha's career has to do with His triumph over the evil Nāga king at Nagarahāra, in whose cavern He is said to have deposited His "shadow" to be an eternal testimony to the power of goodness (Chin entry 21, Northern Wei entry 5, Appendix).[89] Several of the Chinese pilgrims mention the "shadow cave" as one of the main attractions at the great pilgrimage center of Nagarahāra (near modern Hadda in southeast Afghanistan). The special emphasis given the story (far greater than in any of the other half dozen versions in the canonical books) can most naturally be explained as the result of some Nagarahāra writer-monk's desire to give the highest honors to his local cult. A kind of footnote to the "shadow cave" incident substantiates at least the author's special interest in the northwest frontier region. We are told that after the conflict had been settled satisfactorily, the Buddha and His retinue of monks went on a pilgrimage of their own, to the not far distant places in Gandhāra where His most famous Jātaka sacrifices had been carried out. (The author had enough common-sense to avoid making the holy party visit and worship what was in his day the other great attraction at Nagarahāra, the Buddha's *uṣṇiṣa* bone.)

If the "Sea" *sūtra* was composed in southeast Afghanistan some time during the generation or two before it reached China and was translated — i.e. around the middle of the fourth century — it was the product of an area that once had been Greek, and then had become the center of the polyglot Kushan empire, and finally had fallen into the hands of Sasanian Persia. If it was written at Nagarahāra, its author was an inhabitant of the most famous pilgrimage center outside of Śākyamuni's home-land, a city sought by devout Buddhists from all over Asia. The *sūtra* is full of strange details and unfamiliar emphases that suggest the confused and exotic intellectual background that must have prevailed in such a place. Some of these, I believe, may be assigned with reasonable confidence to a knowledge of ideas imported from further west.

The whole episode of the Buddha's victory over the Nāga king, for example, has the flavor of a late Iranian struggle between good and evil, light and darkness. Even the numerical framework chosen for the two parties recalls Gnostic or Manichean habits. The Buddha and His five monks battle against the monster and five ogresses, as on Mani's stage the duels are always between sets of one and five. In a more fundamental sense the whole cavern theme seems a Gnostic or Manichaean allegory, retold under a Buddhist disguise: the Nāga's underground lair is a symbol of the material world, dark, dangerous, and evil, which must be invaded and purified by the light of divine goodness.[90] Very likely as a result of this symbolic interpretation, caves appear again and again throughout the *sūtra* as a preferred setting for a vision of the Buddha (where

[88] Typical passages occur in *Daizōkyō*, XV, pp. 683a, 688c, 689a, 694c.

[89] See also my article, "Aspects of Light Symbolism," in *Artibus Asiae*, especially XII, 3, pp. 273 ff.

[90] *Op. cit.*, XII, 4, pp. 327–328; and XII, 1–2, pp. 65 ff.

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a more traditional iconography might have used the Tree of Enlightenment).[91]

One other preoccupation of the "Sea" *sūtra*'s author may well be explained, at least in part, by his frontier environment. He shows an extraordinary ambivalence about sexual matters. His most consistent reaction to the idea of sexual pleasure is a furious hatred. His version of the story of Śākyamuni's temptation, for example, is unique in the emphasis given to the prolonged, vicious punishments administered to Māra's daughters after their failure.[92] Another "contest" episode, again, is staged between the Buddha and a party of prostitutes, against whom prodigies of divine wrath are called forth.[93] On the other hand, there are passages in which the writer eulogizes the perfection of the Buddha's *phallus* as fervently as if he were a worshipper of Śiva, addressing himself to the divine *liṅga*.[94] This juxtaposition of loathing and adoration would be extraordinary under any circumstances, and doubtless reflects a personal abnormality. It seems to me likely, however, that such a state of mind could have been fostered most readily in a region where two opposed points of view were in constant conflict. Nagarahāra lay on the fringe of a land where hatred of the flesh was endemic to every new popular religion for centuries, from the Essenes and the Marcionites to Mani. It was also, as Hsüan-tsang tells us, a stronghold of Hinduism; its very name probably meant "the city of Śiva"; the modern town of Lamghan nearby still preserves an early stone *liṅga* erected in that god's honor.[95]

(It may be well to point out at this moment that we know the "Sea" *sūtra* only through one Chinese translation, and so cannot be sure that some of its peculiar flavor may not be due to the special interests of the translator. So far as we can tell, however, both interests and experience predisposed Buddhabhadra to carry out his task with sympathy. His *forte* was the mystical trance; and the most formative stage of his training was probably that which he spent in Kashmir, the special breeding-ground of mystics in the north, where he is said to have enjoyed an ecstatic visit to Maitreya in the Tuṣita Heaven.)[96]

I have emphasized both the probable frontier provenience of the "Sea" *sūtra* and the exotic oddness of some of its details because these points seem to me helpful in evaluating the central thesis of the book: its teachings about the mystical experience of Śākyamuni.

The central problem of the *sūtra* — obscured by an infinite number of digressions, repetitions, and fantasies — is set forth in the opening paragraph, through a question asked of Śākyamuni by His father.[97]

"World-honored One, the Buddha is my son and I am His father. Today in this world I am seeing the Buddha's phenomenal body, though I see only its exterior and cannot observe what lies within. [Even] when Siddartha was in my palace [as a new-born child], the physiognomists all recognized His thirty-two distinguishing attributes. But now that He has become Buddha, His radiance is so much brighter that it exceeds the past by hundreds of thousands of myriads of millions. After the Buddha's Nirvāṇa the beings of later ages will say: 'How are we to visualize the Buddha's body with its phenomenal attributes, and know the Buddha's radiance and His habitual measurements?' I only pray that the Heaven-honored One may explain this point today for me and for posterity."

The answer is given with majestic thoroughness, moving through repeated phrases as slowly as a mediaeval ballad. The Buddha says to His father:[98]

"Should there be beings who are desirous of

91 See below, p. 191.

92 *Daizōkyō*, XV, pp. 651aff.

93 *Op. cit.*, pp. 683cff.

94 Soper in *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 4, pp. 325–326.

95 Beal's translation, I, p. 91; Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxile*, Paris, 1942, II, p. 259.

96 From his biography in *Kao SC*, ii; *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 334b, c.

97 *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 645c–646a.

98 *Ibid.*, pp. 647b–648c.

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meditating on the Buddha, who are desirous of visualizing the Buddha, who are desirous of seeing the Buddha, who would distinguish between the major and minor attributes, would recognize the Buddha's radiance, would know the interior of the Buddha's body, would learn how to visualize the Buddha's heart . . . the crown of His head . . . the thousand-spoked wheels on the soles of His feet; who are desirous of knowing the Buddha's appearance at birth . . . at His wedding . . . on leaving His family . . . during His self-mortification . . . on vanquishing Māra . . . on attaining perfect universal Enlightenment . . . when He first turned the Wheel of the Law; who are desirous of knowing about the Tathāgata's precious *[phallus]*, concealed like a horse's; who are desirous of knowing the Tathāgata's appearance when He ascended to the Tuṣita Heaven to preach to His mother Māyā . . . when He descended from the Tuṣita Heaven; who are desirous of knowing about the Tathāgata's luminosity while in the four awesome attitudes, walking, standing, sitting, and lying; who are desirous of knowing the Tathāgata's appearance when He overcame the Mallas at Kuśinagara . . . or the luminosity of His hair when He quelled the demon in the wilderness;[99]

"After the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, should there be those among the four classes of beings, or the gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas, etc., who wish to fix their thoughts, to reflect, to practise meditation, to attain the status of true recipients of *samādhi*, the mystic ecstasy . . . persons who rejoice in visualizing the totality of the Tathāgata's body-attributes . . . or one attribute at a time . . . or His major and minor attributes in turn . . . or in reverse order . . . or His radiance . . . or His walking . . . or His standing . . . or His sitting . . . or His lying . . . or His begging for food . . . or His birth . . . or His wedding [etc. as in the previous paragraph, but ending] or His quelling the Nāgas at Nagarahāra and leaving His 'shadow' behind . . . or the time at Kuśinagara when He quelled the Six [Heterodox] Masters, the poor scavenger, and the various heretics who laid great weight on evil rules and practises;[100]

"With this being so, O king and father, all those persons [in the ages] after My Nirvāṇa, having such and such Karma-deeds and such and such thoughts, will be unequal in their powers of understanding. They must be taught step by step this [process of] fixing their thoughts, in accordance with their powers of mental seeing. If I were myself dwelling in the world they would have no need to fix their thoughts, for it would be like the sun's emerging and making all dark places light. My disciples in those future ages, having no eyes and so being unable to see, must carry out three disciplines. These are: first, to recite the most profound *sūtra* canon, [written on] *tāla* leaves;[101] second, to keep the commandments in all purity, and maintain an unsullied deportment; and third, to fix thoughts and reflect with an untroubled mind.

"What is meant by 'fixing thoughts'? Suppose, now, that someone wished to fix his thoughts on visualizing the top of the Buddha's head . . . on His hair . . . on the intervals between His hairs . . . on His forehead, in its breadth, flatness, and regularity . . . on the white tuft between His eyebrows . . . [etc. through a long list of attributes, ending] or suppose there may be persons who will rejoice in visualizing the soles of the Tathāgata's feet, flat and full without a single hair, presenting the thousand-spoked wheel symbol complete with hub and felloe, the fish with their rows of scales, and the mace of adamant; the heel also having the symbol of King

[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 678cff., describes this exploit in detail. The demon was Pāñcika, who had abducted a small boy for his dinner. The boy called on the Buddha, who came to his aid. The demon's assaults were all diverted by magic, and he was intimidated into submission by the thunderbolt-wielding guardian, Vajrapāṇi.

[100] Contests with the Six are a commonplace in Hīnayāna narratives: see Soper, "The Heretics Confounded," *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1954, pp. 145–148. I do not know what specific encounters are referred to here.

[101] See Hodous and Soothill, *Dictionary*, p. 209, *re* the *tāla* palm and its leaves' use as a writing surface.

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Brahmā's *uṣṇīṣa*, and all the [marks like] seal characters [being shown] without any divergence.[102] Such persons will rejoice in a progressive visualization; others will rejoice in visualizing in the reverse order, beginning with the thousand-spoked wheel symbol under-foot, and going then to the tops of the toes, and so on, attribute by attribute, phenomenon by phenomenon, from below to above . . . Or there may be persons who will rejoice in visualizing the Tathāgata's golden color, for because the Buddha was born in Jambudvīpa,[103] His is the foremost among colors, as impossible to see fully as if it were [the dazzle] from a hundred thousand suns shining on a purple-gold mountain. Or there may be persons who will rejoice in visualizing the Tathāgata's giant sixteen-foot body . . . His ten-foot round halo . . . His body aureole . . . the auspicious signs that occur when He preaches the Law . . . His navel, with its upward-facing and downward-facing attributes.

"What is meant by visualizing the crown of the Tathāgat's head? The bone at the top of the Tathāgata's head is spherical, like hands clasped together. Its color is pure white, although if one looks where the skin is thin then it is red, and if one looks where the skin is thick then it is the color of adamant. The interstices between the hairs are golden in color, while the brain is colored like a rock crystal. There are fourteen veins fully drawn out, with fourteen rays, which like the veins are clearly separated . . . [etc., etc.]"

Thereafter the text considers each of the major parts of the Buddha's body in turn, eulogizing its beauty by lengthy similes, often involving it in fantastic miracles, and linking it where possible to some special event in His earthly career. For example, in treating of the *ūrṇā*, the story is told that at the moment when the Buddha as Prince Siddartha decided to leave His family, He stroked the hairs of His *ūrṇā* and rays issued from it that summoned the Four Lokapālas to be His attendants.[104] In connection with the *phallus* several anecdotes are retailed, with the ostensible purpose of proving that the Buddha was not (as His enemies sometimes claimed) a eunuch, and so naturally exempt from sexual temptation. Instead, He possessed a male member that was normally kept retracted and invisible, like a horse's; but that when the occasion required, could be most marvellously shown, to quell disbelief. On three grand occasions, the *sūtra* claims, He displayed Himself thus in full glory. In downing a hostile party of Jain ascetics (who had boasted that they could wrap their members seven times around their bodies, "just like Śiva,") He miraculously created a vast Mount Sumeru; lay down beside it on His back, emitting a golden radiance; and vouchsafed that His *phallus*, should emerge, wind round the peak seven times, and then like a golden lotus mount to the Heavens of Brahmā. (This is itself a Śiva miracle).[105].

One of the basic emphases in the "Sea" *sūtra* is its recognition of the great importance of images as an aid to personal devotion. There are at least six passages that urge, directly or indirectly, the would-be mystic to seek the assistance of art

[102] Naitō T., in an article on the relationship between the main Buddha triad of Yakushiji and the Hōryūji murals (*Tōyō Bijutsu*, X, 1937, pp. 1ff.), points out that this list closely approaches the rendering of the foot symbols at Yakushiji, and so makes it likely that the latter were derived, through a mid seventh century Chinese copy, from an "imprint of the Buddha's foot" preserved in stone at a temple in Pātaliputra. His illustrations make it possible to compare the two Yakushiji versions (for the monastery also possesses a mid 8th century stele with the imprint), with extant Chinese and Indian examples. "Brahmā's *uṣṇīṣa*" is a shape like the traditional three-pronged Buddhist *triratna*, except that all three prongs end in fanning leaves. This rich combination of shapes seems to have replaced an earlier formula in which only the "thousand-spoked wheel" was featured.

[103] The name assigned in Buddhist cosmology to the known Earth, imagined as one of four huge island-continents in the world-sea, encircling Mount Sumeru.

[104] *Daizōkyō*, XV, p. 650a.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 686c. For the most celebrated phallic emergence ascribed to Śiva, see H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, New York, 1946, pp. 128–129.

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if he finds the process of visualization abnormally difficult. One such passage, which deals with the *ūrṇā*, begins by speaking of the need for a true confession of one's sins, after which:[106]

"One meditates on the rays from the white tuft between the Buddha's eyebrows, from one to seven days, upon which the above-mentioned four types of sins will be lightened. After three weeks of this one's sins will gradually disappear; after seven weeks one will be wholly purified. Should there be some monk who has committed an offense not having the nature of sin, and who when he [tries to] visualize the *ūrṇā* rays, can see only blackness, let him enter a *stūpa* and observe the statue's *ūrṇā* for from one to three days, clasping his hands and weeping while he studies with all his heart. Then he may go before the brothers and tell of his previous offense."

In a later paragraph the Buddha tells Ānanda: "After the Nirvāṇa you should make a beautiful image with its attributes all complete. Also you should fashion an infinite number of images of miraculously-created Buddhas in their phenomenal forms, together with a body aureole and drawings of the Buddha's footprints, all exquisitely colored, and with a rock crystal set in the place of the *ūrṇā*. Thus all beings may be able to see this attribute. Only by seeing it, their hearts will be gladdened; and such persons will be absolved of the sins accumulated through a hundred millions of *nayutas* of Ganges' sands of incarnations."[107]

Later still in the *sūtra* the Buddha tells Maitreya: "After the Tathāgata's [entry into] Nirvāṇa there will be many beings who because they do not see the Buddha will commit all sorts of evil acts. That sort of person should be made to visualize an image, for if he does so it will be in no wise different from visualizing My own body and so on."

Several paragraphs further on, this advice is repeated in greater detail, to Ānanda,[108] "After the Buddha's [entry into] Nirvāṇa, when no Buddha is manifested, [people] must visualize Buddha images. Any monk or nun or lay devotee of either sex, or god or Nāga or other member of the Eight Classes – any being whatsoever who is desirous of visualizing a Buddha image, will first go into a Buddha *stūpa* with a good, fragrant plaster and various earths, and plaster over the floor until it is clean. Then to the extent of his ability he will burn incense and scatter flowers in adoration of the Buddha image. He will tell of his past crimes and adore the Buddha in penitence. After he has humbled his heart in this way for the space of one week he will again go among the crowds to plaster over and sweep out the priests' floors, geeting rid of every kind of filth. He will do penitence before a priest and adore the brothers' feet. Having passed another week in worshipping this way with an unflagging heart, he should if he has taken orders recite the monastic rules, to whet the edge of his intelligence to the highest degree; while if he is a householder he will cherish his parents and show a loving reverence to his master and his elders. Thus he will discipline his heart and make it submissive. If his heart remains unsubmissive he must forcibly break and humble it until it is obedient, as one tames an elephant or a horse lest it get out of hand. When his heart has become soft and obedient then he will burn various kinds of famous incense in some purified place and adore Śākyamuni, saying:

"'I pay homage to Thee, O being of great virtue, O my great teacher, O Arhat of perfect wisdom, O world-honored one of great pity. May Thy mercies overshadow and guard Thy disciples like a cloud.'

"Thus saying, he will prostrate himself weeping before the image. Then rising from the ground and adjusting his robe he will sit in a squatting position, and fix his thoughts on some single point . . . on the tip of the nose . . . on the

[106] *Daizōkyō*, XV, p. 655b.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 675c.
[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 690a–691b.

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forehead . . . on a toe; with this sort of variety he may follow his own inclinations in fixing his thoughts on some special point, provided that he does not allow them to run away or scatter, so that his heart is disturbed . . . He must sit with closed mouth, closed eyes, and folded hands, in a fixed position. When he has kept his body at peace for from one to seven days, then out of that peace of body he may think of the image.

"One who rejoices in a visualization in reverse order will begin with the image's toes and step by step move his gaze upward. When he first visualizes the toe he must fix his thoughts precisely. Then when he has followed the outlines of the Buddha's toe for the space of a week, whether his eyes are closed or open he will clearly see the toe of a golden image. Then gradually he will proceed to visualize the two feet on the pedestal until he sees them with complete clarity . . . and so on, step by step, to the hair. After the hair he will visualize the face. If that is not clear to him, he will again do penitence and redouble the austerities he is inflicting on himself. When he has been purified through the commandments, he will see the face of the Buddha image as clear and distinct as if it were a golden mirror. Next he will visualize the tuft between the eyebrows, like a rock crystal, curling in a spiral to the right. With this attribute revealed to him, he will see the Buddha's brows and eyes, like a painting done by some master-artist among the gods. That seen, he will go on to visualize the rays from the top of the head until they become clear and distinct . . ."

The text goes on to describe more briefly a visualization process carried out in the normal order, beginning with the markings on the crown of the head and descending to the feet. "In this way he will go and return a total of fourteen times, scrupulously visualizing the single image until it is absolutely complete. When this visualization of the one has been fully carried out, whether he is in or out of ecstasy he will continually see a standing figure . . . When he can see a single figure perfectly he will go on to imagine two images . . . and then three . . . and then ten . . . and then a whole chamber completely filled with Buddha images, so that no space remains between them."

At this point he will perform another series of acts of deferential service; and pray, asking for no other reward than Bodhi; and carry out further penitential rites. When he returns to his meditation, he will step by step expand the fields that he visualizes as filled with images, beginning with the cloister and ending with the Ten Quarters of Space, in which he will see "all the images there are, their bodies a pure gold in color, emitting a great light." (We are told parenthetically that past misdeeds will prevent a man at first from recognizing the true color of such figures, which he will see as black or red. By penitence he will change their hue to red, and finally to gold).

"He who carries out this [process of] visualization will be absolved of the sins accumulated during sixty millions of *kalpas* of reincarnation . . . In the time to come the acuteness of his mental powers will permit him to meet the Thousand World-honored Buddhas of this Bhadrakalpa, and They will be His teachers . . . Whenever he sees a Buddha the bodily attributes will be perfectly clear and distinct to him; whenever he hears a Buddha preaching the Law he will keep everything in his mind without forgetting. He will receive his teaching where the Buddhas of Light reveal Themselves, in the Kalpa of the Constellations . . ."[109]

A comparison between this treatise and its better-known rival in the *kuan* group, the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing Amitāyus," is instructive. Both teach what I have earlier described as "a systematic building-up of visual images, each as complete and precise as possible, in a sequence from the simple toward the complex."[110] Both

[109] The aeon which will succeed the present one, or Bhadrakalpa: see below, p. 201.

[110] See above, p. 144.

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are outspoken in recommending the artistic image as an aid in memorization and in sharpening the visual faculty. The "Sea" *sūtra*, translated a half century or more earlier, remains closer to Hīnayāna and to the monk's ethical code. The Amitāyus tract shows a higher degree of mystical sophistication in distinguishing clearly between the willed process of "visualizing" and the supernatural gift of "seeing," between the artifact and the reality. Clearly, also, the Paradise that it promises is a much more highly worked out Mahāyāna goal than the vague phrases from the "Sea" *sūtra* that I have just translated.

It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to determine the importance of the "Sea" *sūtra* as a whole during the Six Dynasties period. We can be sure that one part of it, at least, was influential, its account of the "shadow cave." The great Eastern Chin abbot Hui-yüan's own account of how he happened to fashion a replica of the grotto on Mount Lu tells of his receiving information about the original from the translator-missionary Buddhabhadra – the "Meditation Master from Kashmir" – while the latter was his guest (Chin entry 21).[111] The "shadow cave" story was the one excerpt taken from the *sūtra* for the *florilegium* of especially choice scriptural passages recorded in the Liang bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, xii.[112] This being the case, a special interest attaches to the paragraph in which the *sūtra*'s author suggests a meditative technique for the "shadow cave" theme.[113]

"After the Buddha's [entry into] Nirvāṇa all those Buddha-disciples who are desirous . . . of learning about the seated Buddha should visualize the Buddha's shadow. Those who visualize the Buddha's shadow will begin by visualizing a Buddha image, imagining it as sixteen feet [high], squatting upon a seat of strewn grass. They will invite the image to take its seat, until they see it perfectly that way. Then they should imagine a rock cavern eighteen feet high and twenty-four paces deep, thinking of it as of pure, white stone. When this thought has been carried out they will see a seated Buddha floating in the air, with flowers raining down from His feet."

The prescription goes on to direct the adept to reconstruct in his mind the final stages of the grotto story as the *sūtra* tells it; his mental image will first enter the cave and then penetrate into the rock wall, "which will interpose no more obstacle than if it were a mirror." He will then visualize the thirty-two major attributes, and then the "magically-created Buddhas, sitting cross-legged on great lotuses and emitting rays from Their bodies that light up everything . . . He who contemplates the Buddha's shadow as described above, the same being named the True Vision of the Enthroned Tathāgata . . . will see something in no wise different from the Buddha's own body; and [will gain thereby] a cancelling of the sins accumulated during a hundred thousand *kalpas* of reincarnation. Anyone who fails to see should enter a *stūpa* and visualize all the seated figures. When he can see them he will rid himself of his sins by penitence. That man's Karma merits through visualizing images will be such that when Maitreya appears in the world, he will see Maitreya Buddha when He first takes His seat, cross-legged, under the Dragon-flower Tree . . ."

This passage suggests very strongly a possible prototype for the layouts of the colossal caves with seated Buddhas at Yün-kang. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence that the Northern Wei monks who first planned the Yün-kang excavations had any knowledge of the "Sea" *sūtra*. We do know at least that they were aware of the importance of the "shadow image" (Northern Wei entry 5).

If we were to accord the highest possible degree of influence to the *sūtra*'s stipulations, we might say that its authority helped to associate closely in Chinese minds the cave-shrine and the

[111] *Daizōkyō*, LII, pp. 197c–198a, from *Kuang Hung MC*, xv.
[112] *Ibid.*, LV, p. 88a.
[113] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 681b, c.

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seated image. The more general processes of visualization that I have translated earlier, and that have to do with the *standing* image, lack any specific setting. (The "historic" basis for this latter iconographic type seems to be one of the *sūtra*'s other major stories, the account of how King Udyāna made the "first image" while Śākyamuni was absent in Heaven; see Appendix.)[114]

My numerous references to Southern representations of the Buddha entering Nirvāṇa reveal a lively interest in the theme that was apparently not shared in the North. (The subject appears only once, for example, among the otherwise rich repertory of scenes from the life of Śākyamuni in the major caves at Yün-kang; and there is presented at small scale, in a position of secondary importance.)[115] The popularity of the story of the Buddha's passing away and His final sermon, is attested also by the large number of Paranirvāṇa *sūtras*, of various sorts and lengths, that were translated into Chinese in the early centuries. The Liang bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, ii, lists eight, dating between the third quarter of the second century and the second quarter of the fifth. Six remain in the Tripiṭaka that we know today, covering both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna accounts of the event.[116] In addition, of course, the story is included in numerous lives of the Buddha, and other general works.

Western precedents for the treatment of the Paranirvāṇa in art are of two sorts. In Gandhāra, to judge from preserved remains, the problem was most often satisfied by a death-bed scene rendered at normal scale; the subject must usually have been presented as part of a narrative sequence.[117] There are signs that it grew gradually in relative importance, and preserved its status in the face of the general change from storytelling to iconolatry that accompanied the emergence of Mahāyāna. The Paranirvāṇa relief (fourth century?) from Loriyān Tangai in the Calcutta Museum is unusually large, and rich in accessory figures.[118] At the Bhamāla monastery site in Taxila one of the major relief panels remaining on the basement of the *stūpa* (fifth century?) is a Paranirvāṇa scene, centering on a recumbent stucco image over two feet long.[119] From the traditional Gandhāran composition through the Loriyān Tangai stone to Bhamāla there is a progressive increase in the proportional size of the Buddha; in the last-named panel He is shown as a miniature colossus.

The other type of Indian precedent, which perhaps explains the Gandhāran trend culminating at Bhamāla, is seen at the modern site of Kasia, the ancient Kuśinagara, where the Buddha is said to have passed away.[120] The place was one of the traditional pilgrimage sites of the Indian Buddhist world, and at least by the Guptan period had developed an artistic form fully expressive of its special status. On the west side, i. e. the rear, of the main surviving *stūpa* is a large chapel enshrining a monolithic stone recumbent Buddha, some twenty feet long. Both the statue and the *stūpa* can be proven by good evidence to belong to the fifth century; a brief note on their existence was made two centuries later by the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang.[121]

[114] See below, pp. 259ff.

[115] Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yün-kang*, VII, pp. 80–81; VIII, pl. 45 and rubbing IId. In Cave XI, a small relief on the face of a Buddha's throne. The scene occurs twice in the minor, late caves XXXV and XXXVII.

[116] *Daizōkyō*, LV, pp. 6b, c, 8a, 11b, c, 12c, 13a, 14a; Nanjio's nos. 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120.

[117] Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, pp. 554ff. For literary evidence of this stage in painting see my "Early Buddhist Attitudes" in *Art Bulletin*, 1950, p. 149.

[118] Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 558, fig. 277.

[119] Sir J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, I, p. 392, III, pl. 118a, b.

[120] *Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1904–1905, pp. 43ff.; 1910 to 1911, pp. 73ff.

[121] Beal's translation, II, p. 32: *Daizōkyō*, LI, no. 2087, p. 903b. An inscription on the face of the statue, and another on a copper plate found inside the *stūpa*, both mentioning a certain Haribala as donor, belong epigraphically to the 5th century. The *stūpa* yielded silver coins of the Guptan ruler Kumāragupta, who died in 455.

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Knowledge of both Indian precedents probably explains the similar divergence to be found among the Central Asian wallpaintings preserved in the Kyzil neighborhood. Among the cave-shrines typical of the early style – datable in the fourth (?), fifth, and sixth centuries – the "Pfauenhöhle" merely includes the death and several subsequent mourning scenes in a series of thirty-six or so narrative panels, without assigning them any special location or emphasis.[122] On the other hand the "Statuenhöhle" and the "Preta-höhle" both show the vestiges of a scheme which may have been intended to follow (in a greatly simplified way) the arrangement at Kuśinagara. As in most cases a narrow ambulatory aisle runs around the back of the cella shaft (the Central Asian equivalent of the *stūpa)*; the innermost wall, at the back of the shaft, was cut back farther than the others, to give space for a wide dais that must once have held an oversized clay recumbent image.[123] It was this formula that became orthodox in the second Kyzil period, from about A.D. 600 onward. The "Maya-Höhle der zweiten Anlage," for example, has preserved not only the image dais at the far rear, but also a set of large paintings illustrating several episodes of the Nirvāṇa cycle, which filled the ambulatory walls.[124]

That the earlier versions of this more monumental arrangement were known on the Chinese frontier during the Northern Wei period, is proved by the layout of Cave 135 at Tun-huang. There the narrative panels on the cella and ambulatory walls reach their climax in a large Paranirvāṇa group (done in the debased, local version of the Central Asian style) directly behind the main altar.[125]

Where my text references speak of the dedication of an image, they presumably refer to a special cult offered in a kind of mortuary chapel: comparable to, and perhaps based on, the original at Kuśinagara. It is, to be sure, not proven that any pre-Guptan shrine with a recumbent statue existed at the latter site; Fa-hsien has nothing to say about an image.[126] On the other hand a large building on the northwest side of the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila, whose elongated shape resembles that of the Kuśinagara chapel – though any statue it may have held has disappeared – is said to go back to the first century A.D. or earlier.[127]

The two citations in my Chin entry 6, in each of which someone finds a representation of the Paranirvāṇa inside a pagoda, may indicate either of the two Western usages. If what was meant was a narrative scene, among others shown with a similar emphasis, it seems to me possible that the effect was gained by the means used later in the Hōryūji pagoda in Japan: the creation of a *tableau* by means of small clay figures, arranged as if on a miniature stage in one of the four bays surrounding the central pagoda pillar.[128] (It should be remembered that Chin entry 7 refers to "seven shrines with clay figures"; and Sung entry 18 speaks of clay images of exceptional beauty inside the Ch'ang-sha-ssu pagoda.)

The closest contact between Śākyamuni and the Chinese popular imagination must have been made at the great annual ceremonies celebrating His birthday. One of my references (Three Kingdoms 2) touches on the most solemn part of these observances, the ritual washing of a Buddha image, which reenacted the first service performed for the new-born child. The others all have to do with the elaborate processions by which the great metropolitan temples (usually located in the suburbs) brought their images publicly into the city to be worshipped together. The texts make it clear that this parading was designed to appeal to as many sides of the specta-

122 Grünwedel, *Alt Kutscha*, Berlin, 1920, II, pp. 3ff., figs. 13, 15–17.

123 Grünwedel *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 93, 170.

124 *Alt Kutscha*, II, pp. 101ff., pls. XLIVff.

125 Pelliot, *Touen-houang*, pl. CCLXXXIII.

126 *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 861; Beal's translation, pp. li–lii.

127 Marshall, Taxila, I, pp. 247–248: "Building H."

128 *Hōryūji Ōkagami*, IV, pp. 2–3, pls. 7ff. See also my Sung note 42.

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tors' interest as possible; and had as much the atmosphere of a carnival as of a religious ceremony. The majestic silence of the images was offset not only by the chanting of monks but by gayer tunes as well, performed by troupes of girl musicians. The dignity of the high churchmen in their embroidered robes was relieved by dancers, clowns, and acrobats.

Many of the ingredients of the spectacle must have been traditionally Chinese; a Han courtier who had known the entertainments at the imperial palace would doubtless have found much that was familiar in the Northern Wei pageants at Lo-yang, a half millennium later. The basic idea of the image procession was of course Western. The two greatest Chinese pilgrims have left us detailed descriptions of ceremonies of the sort that they witnessed. Fa-hsien's first account has to do with the birthday observances at Khotan, and stresses particularly the splendor of the image cars, "thirty feet or so high, fashioned like a portable palace, made splendid by every sort of precious substance, with hanging banners and canopies, and in the center of the car the idol standing with two Bodhisattva attendants; while the various gods in His train, all sculptured in gold and silver, hang suspended in the air."[129] Later he tells of the processions at the Indian capital, Pāṭaliputra.[130] "They use a four-wheeled car, lashing together bamboo to make a five-storeyed [framework] with brackets and a [central] mast twenty feet or so high, so that the general effect is like a pagoda. They cover this with wrappings of white cotton, which they then paint in divers colors. They fashion images of the gods, decorate them with gold, silver, and glass, and hang over them banners and canopies. On [each of] the four faces they make [a?] niche which holds a seated Buddha with standing Bodhisattva[s?] in attendance. There are perhaps twenty cars thus decked out, each different from the rest. For the birthday the clerics and laity of the realm assemble in crowds. There are girl entertainers to make music, and offerings of flowers and incense are made . . ."

Hsüan-tsang describes in more general terms the similar custom practised at Kucha, in Central Asia.[131] His other account, of a royal procession that he witnessed at the court of King Harśavardhana (or Śilāditya), has a different flavor, with Hīnayāna rather than Mahāyāna details. Instead of an image car, the statue — half life-sized, and of gold — was carried on a richly caparisoned elephant; and the escort was headed by the king and his closest vassal, walking dressed for the roles of Brahmā and Indra, respectively.[132]

The practise may probably be traced back in India at least to the Mauryan dynasty, for one of Aśoka's rock edicts claims credit for the fact that "the signal of the drum has become a signal of piety, displaying to the people the spectacle of celestial cars, elephants, fires, and other heavenly shapes."[133]

Two or three of the dogmatic ideas underlying the image procession are worthy of brief notice.[134] In the first place the very fact that it was possible for the populace to see the sacred figures had in theory much more than a propaganda value. Although many tracts known at the time extolled the merit of seeing and studying images, it is by no means certain that the common people had under ordinary circumstances the right to enter temple sanctuaries. Large temples, founded by a wealthy donor for his own sake and his family's, probably maintained something of the character of a family trust, opening their doors to a restricted congregation. Many who were allowed to pass through the gate may have been halted at

[129] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 857b; Beal's translation, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[130] In the same texts, pp. 862b and lvi–lvii, respectively.

[131] In the same texts, pp. 870b and 22 respectively.

[132] In the same texts, pp. 895b and 218–219 respectively.

[133] *Cambridge History of India*, New York, 1922, I, pp. 505, 507.

[134] I follow here some of the ideas set forth by Kosugi K. in his "Hsing-hsiang (Buddhist Procession)," *Ars Buddhica*, XIX, 1953, pp. 40ff. (in Japanese).

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the entrance to the Buddha hall; and those whom the monks permitted to enter may have been kept so far from the images they were worshipping, and so hampered by barriers and hangings, that they could see little or nothing. I have quoted above the complaint of a Liang Emperor that the temples of his day were all too ready to shut up their deities in shrines and cabinets, after the feastday was over (Liang entry 21). The annual procession not only broke down, for a day or two, this exclusiveness, but added a further opportunity to acquire merit by presenting its images *in motion*, before the spectators' eyes. On this point a passage in the "Sea" *sūtra* is outspoken:

"Any person who while the Buddha is in this world shall see Him walking, who shall see with every step the thousand-spoked wheel mark, will be absolved thereby of the gravest sins, accumulated during a thousand *kalpas* of the past. After the Buddha has departed, those who in *samādhi* shall truly receive the mystic vision of a walking Buddha, will also wipe out all retribution for a thousand *kalpas* of the gravest sins. Anyone who does not practise this meditation, but who sees the Buddha's footprint or who sees an image moving, will step by step also wipe out retribution for a thousand *kalpas* of the gravest sins ... (O Ānanda], after the Nirvāṇa you should make a beautiful image with its attributes all complete ... (etc.)"[135]

If the moving image on the one hand held out a special blessing to those who witnessed its passage, in another sense it may have been intended to reassert annually the supreme authority of the Church. Its entrance into the city, into the crowded world of man, may have been interpreted as a reenactment of the "first seven steps" by which the child Buddha took symbolic possession of the world into which He was born. If this were so, one of the climaxes of the celebration would, in its turn, have had a double meaning. Fa-hsien's description of the birthday at Khotan emphasizes the humble welcome offered the chief image at the city gate by the King; and we have read how the Wei Emperor (less pious but willing to cooperate in a reasonable way) scattered flowers from his gate-house as the parade passed into the imperial city (Wei entry 3). This public act of homage, on the part of the highest secular authority, may well have been meant to recall the welcome given the Buddha at His birth by gods and men; and if so was the closest Buddhist equivalent to the Christian Adoration of the Kings.[136]

Śikhin:

See under the Seven Buddhas of the Past.[137]

Vairocana:

Two of the principal sources on which the primacy of Vairocana was to be based in the T'ang dynasty were known by the early fifth: the "old" *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* and the "*Sūtra* of Brahmā's Net."[138] In both of these His position seems due not so much to a new idea as to a desire to state one of the basic Mahāyāna dogmas more systematically and clearly. "Vairocana" is a name for the transcendent aspect of Buddhahood, seen as unity rather than plurality, a single Lord of the Universe rather than an innumerable host. In the "Lotus *Sūtra*" this concept is praised under the name of Śākyamuni, as we have seen.[139] It can be argued that the Vairocana texts use their new name merely as a means of distinguishing the eternal and omnipresent aspect of divinity

135 *Daizōkyō*, XV, p. 675c. For the rest of the passage translated, see p. 189 above.

136 The welcome accorded the Buddha was very likely also a variant of the practise, widespread in the Near East in Hellenistic and Roman times, of staging an elaborate welcome of the deified ruler at his city's gateway. See Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, pp. 10ff.

137 See below, pp. 198ff.

138 Nanjio's no. 87, the *Ta Fang-kuang Fo Hua Yen Ching; Daizōkyō*, IX, no. 278: and Nanjio's no. 1087, the *Fan Wang Ching*, translated by Kumārajīva: *ibid.*, XXIV, no. 1484. See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 4367b, under "Birushana."

139 See above, p. 183.

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from the temporal. Both descriptions, indeed, present the supreme Buddha in ways that would not be incongruous in the "Lotus," except that their style is even more divorced from everyday experiences. The *Avataṁsaka*, translated by Buddhabhadra in 420–421 from a manuscript secured in Khotan, places Him at the center of the Ten Quarters of Space, in a realm called "Lotus Blossom Womb Adornment World Ocean."[140] The numerical side of the reader's imagination is appealed to with a new cogency. Each of the Ten Quarters, or "Oceans," is described as a kind of galaxy in itself, with its own Buddhist hierarchy and an infinite number of dependent worlds. There is a constant insistence on the fact that the tiniest grain of cosmic dust, at the scale of the "Oceans," would count as a world in ordinary human experience. The astronomical imagery of the "Brahmā" *sūtra* is less staggering to the imagination. There we are told that the super-Buddha (Śākyamuni Himself in an infinitely remote prior birth) "inhabits the Lotus Blossom Dais Womb World Ocean. All around His dais there are a thousand petals; each petal is a world, so that there are a thousand worlds in all; I transform Myself into a thousand Śākyamunis . . ."[141]

In the "Brahmā" *sūtra* the supreme being is referred to as "Lu-she-na" (as the modern Mandarin pronunciation would render it). The *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* gives Him both this same name and the fuller "Pi-lu-she-na." When the Chinese began studying the texts that they had inherited in a more scholarly spirit, commentators puzzled over the difference between these two renderings. Some found it convenient to see a distinction rather than a mere abbreviation, and so placed in their pantheon "Locana" as well as Vairocana. A commentator on the "Lotus," for example, the Southern monk Chih-i (538–597) used the two names to present the dogma of Buddha-hood with a new orderliness: for him the sequence Śākyamuni, Locana, and Vairocana corresponded to the three body-states in ascending order, the incarnate body Nirmāṇakāya, the reward body Sambhogakāya, and the completely transcendent body Dharmakāya.[142] This, however, was only one of many conflicting theories; and in general Chinese Buddhist thinkers forgot "Locana" in favor of more robust and popular deities.

Chih-i notes that the meaning of "Vairocana" is "throughout all places," i.e. omnipresent. In T'ang the preferred interpretation stressed instead the factor of universal radiance, and the best-known rendering of the name made it an equivalent for "Great Sun." In this fact alone there lies no particular surprise. All the great Mahāyāna *sūtras* had insisted on the immeasurable luminosity of Buddha-hood; "Vairocana" as light-giver is merely another way of expressing the idea found at a more popular level in "Amitābha." It is curious to find that at the pre-Mahāyāna level the name "Vairocana" (or in Pāli "Verocana") identifies a figure on the far outer fringe of the Buddhist pantheon, a monarch of the race of Asuras, or Titans.[143] If this is the same being as the later universal Buddha, his rise to supremacy oddly echoes the career of the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda, the embodiment of goodness and light, who also was fashioned out of the status of the Ahuras, or non-gods.

All my entries render the Buddha's name in its abbreviated form "Lu-she-na." I can explain their frequency from the middle of the sixth century onward, only as part of the general transition that led to the T'ang phase. Perhaps they reflect the gradually increasing prestige and individuality of the Avataṁsaka sect, which by the seventh century was to assume a dominant position in Chinese Buddhism.

140 *Daizōkyō*, IX, pp. 405aff.; the chapter on Vairocana.

141 *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 997bff.

142 Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, p. 4368c, quoting from the *Fa Hua Ching Wen-chü*, ix, 2.

143 See Dowson, *Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 359, under "Virochana." In the *Samyuktāgama*, xl (*Daizōkyō*, II, no. 99, p. 296b) we are told of a visit paid to the Buddha by this being's radiantly handsome son, Bali.

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Vipaśyin:

See under the Seven Buddhas of the Past.[144]

Visvabhū:

See under the Seven Buddhas of the Past.[144]

Five Buddhas:

A group of five Buddhas is an anomaly in Chinese Buddhist art prior to the introduction of Tantric iconography in mid T'ang. As we have seen, however, the Eastern Chin sculptor Tai K'uei is said to have constructed five lacquer figures for Wa-kuan-ssu, which a citation in the Liang history refers to as "five Buddhas" (Chin entry 15). To be sure, the latter text was compiled only at the outset of T'ang, and in this regard may be erroneous. Without it, I should be inclined to think that Tai K'uei's statues were of five disciples of Śākyamuni. Such a set of five is named regularly in the "Sea" *sūtra;* the Buddha, for example, is said to have taken Ānanda and four others with Him on His journey to Nagarahāra to vanquish the evil Nāga king.[145] The very florid proclamation of the Liang Emperor Ch'ien Wen that I have translated in Liang entry 21, in speaking of "five or ten holy figures . . . pushed together into a single shrine," probably refers to two sets of disciple figures, numbering five and ten respectively.

If the correctness of the Liang history's reference is assumed, we must turn for authority to some text like the "Sea" *sūtra*, again. There, as one aspect of a general insistence on groups of five, a set of five Buddhas is implied (though not, I think, named). Along with the familiar Buddhas of the Ten Quarters we are introduced twice to a simpler cosmological formula, the Buddhas of the Four Cardinal Points (east, south, west, and north being represented respectively by Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus, and "Subtle Voice," Wei-miao Sheng).[146] In a typically fantastic miracle the four materialize within a sort of baldachino, scatter golden flowers on Śākyamuni, and then descend to sit on His dais. It would not have required a great stretch of the imagination to turn this into a five-part relationship, stressing Śākyamuni at the center, and so construct an archetype for the familiar *maṇḍalas* of later centuries.

Fa-hsien's pilgrimage record describes two instances in India of a quadripartite scheme that probably had this same purpose. At the place where Śākyamuni was reputed to have returned to Earth after His visit to Tuṣita, He saw among other monuments erected by King Aśoka, a stone pillar surmounted by a lion. "Within the pillar on the four sides are Buddha images."[147] As described, of course, this cannot have been wholly a work of Aśoka's time. Presumably the four images were added, in niches, to the original lion pillar in the early Guptan period. In telling of the image procession that he witnessed at Pāṭaliputra, again, he describes the typical car as being built up in five storeys into a shape like a *stūpa*'s. "On the four faces are niches, each holding a seated Buddha with standing Bodhisattva attendants."[148] In both these cases the presence of the crucial fifth Buddha at the center was probably conveyed by symbolic means. The lion on the pillar must have been meant to stand for Śākyamuni from the start; and the equation between a *stūpa* and a Buddha's body must have been accepted at an early date, as soon as the Indian habit of symbolizing had had a chance to work over the new Buddhist material.

It may be worth adding here that the French excavations in Afghanistan have disclosed, among many varieties of *stūpa* decoration, two that are pertinent to the five-Buddha theme. Some square *stūpas* have a single niche per face; elsewhere a row of five Buddhas squatting in

[144] See below, pp. 198ff.
[145] See above, p. 185.
[146] *Daizōkyō*, XV, pp. 688c, 691a, b.
[147] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 859c; Beal's translation, pp. xl–xli.
[148] See above, p. 194.

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meditation may be placed in relief on a single wall surface.[149]

The Seven Buddhas of the Past:

Perhaps the first noticeable step toward breaking down the idea of Śākyamuni's uniqueness was an acceptance of the belief that He had been preceded by six other Buddhas, whose careers and functions had been basically identical to His own. The early date of this change is attested by the first monuments of Buddhist sculpture in India: the Barhut railing and the Sāñcī gateways, preserved from the first centuries B. C. and A. D., both hint at the theme in the aniconic fashion of the time by showing seven different Trees of Enlightenment singly or in a row (alternating with Stūpas). The Gandhāran and Mathuran reliefs of the Kushan period make the same statement directly by a row of seven Buddha figures, usually terminated by a Maitreya in the dress of a Bodhisattva, to point toward the eighth savior who is to come in the future.[150]

The choice of seven must have been determined by the favored position that number had long enjoyed in the Near and Middle East through its connection with the five known planets, the sun, and the moon. It is interesting to see that preference seems gradually to have shifted in India from the traditional seven to four. If my notes are correct, Hsüan-tsang speaks only once of images of the Seven Buddhas, as decorating the royal *vihāra* erected by King Śīlāditya.[151] He describes a set of four seated images in Gandhāra, erected to commemorate the place where the four Buddhas of the Past had sat under a great tree;[152] and refers fairly often to places connected by legend with the careers of the three immediate predecessors of Śākyamuni (never with those of the three others). Some of the reason for this shift may have lain in a belief that the earliest three of the Seven were too remote in the past to be truly accessible to worship. Vipaśyin, the first, was thought to have had His career ninety-one aeons ago. Sikhin and Visvabhū divided between Them the thirty-first aeon. On the other hand Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, and Kāśyapa all belonged, like Śākyamuni, in the present aeon, or *Bhadrakalpa*.[153] According to Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang Their birthplaces and the commemorative monuments erected in Their honor were all in the neighborhood of Srāvastī and Kapilavastu, i. e. at the center of Śākyamuni's own cult.[154] Fa-hsien tells us that in his time there was a heretical Buddhist sect claiming descent from Śākyamuni's cousin Devadatta, which disavowed Him but worshipped His three predecessors.[155] By a happy chance one of the Aśokan pillars unearthed in modern times records the devotion of that monarch to the cult of Kanakamuni. Its inscription tells that in the fourteenth year of his reign he rebuilt the past Buddha's *stūpa* in an enlarged form, and in the twentieth year came in person to visit the place and pay homage.[156]

All this evidence might also be interpreted to mean that the earliest extension of the idea of Buddha-hood was to a set of three predecessors, in the age before Buddhism had moved very widely afield from its original heart-land. This

[149] E. g. J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Hadda*, Paris, 1933, p. 88 (his TK 67).

[150] A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Barhut*, London, 1879, pls. XXIX, XXX; Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchī*, n. d., pp. 127, 199–200, and as a typical example, pl. XV. Note that the dating of these two sites has in recent scholarship been lowered by several decades: see the Harvard dissertation (1954) of W. M. Spink, *The Rock-cut Tombs of the Andhra Period*, pp. 208–212. For Kushan examples, see Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, figs. 134, 136, II, fig. 457; Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *Scythian Period*, fig. 50.

[151] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 935c; Beal's translation, II, p. 261.

[152] In the same texts, pp. 879c and I, 99 respectively.

[153] *Ta Chih-tu Lun*, ix: *Daizōkyō*, XXV, p. 125a.

[154] *Ibid.*, LI, pp. 861a, 900c, 901b; Beal's translation, I, pp. xlviii, xlix; II, pp. 13, 18, 19.

[155] In the same texts, pp. 861a and I, xlvii respectively.

[156] See Ramaprasad Chandra, "Beginnings of Art in Eastern India," *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, XXX, 1927, p. 21.

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group of four may have been expanded to seven for scholastic reasons that never were wholly accepted at the level of popular worship, perhaps through the influence of ideas newly imported from Persia or Mesopotamia after the coming of Alexander. Later, seven may have yielded its primacy to four again.

In China the situation must have been quite different. Chinese monks who read widely in the scriptures found the Seven Buddhas mentioned with great frequency in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts; they were both a standard way of expressing the passage of time, and a routine first multiple of Buddhist unity. As a group they probably enjoyed a greater prestige in China of the Six Dynasties than in contemporary India because they stood for something that all literate Chinese held in the highest honor, the "historic" past. For them, again, the number Seven also recalled the royal ancestors worshiped in the dynastic shrine. When the group as a whole was not represented, the Chinese tended to select from it just those members who in India were least sought after, the earliest names like Vipaśyin and Sikhin as "first ancestors." Kāśyapa they probably favored because He was in a sense Śākyamuni's spiritual father (Chin entry 4, Liang entry 21, Inscriptions 2).

The Buddhas of the Ten Quarters:

The idea that all space — summarized by ten directions, the eight compass points plus up and down — is for all time pervaded by an incalculable number of Buddhas, is one of the bases of Mahāyāna theology. In China acceptance or rejection of the idea could be the touchstone to determine a believer's orthodoxy. The Liang bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, v, for example, tells of a monk named Fa-tu (born in Canton in early Sung, his father being an Indian trader), who "studied the Hīnayāna and declared that there were no Buddhas of the Ten Quarters, and that he would worship no one but Śākyamuni. He would not hear or read or recite anything from the Māhāyana canon." (The account goes on to describe the deliberate oddities that he and his followers affected in dress and behavior)[157]

The better part of a chapter (ix), in the great Prajñā commentary translated by Kumārajīva under the title *Ta Chih-tu Lun* meets a long series of hypothetical questions about the existence of these beings.[158] Several have to do with the familiar statements in Hīnayāna texts in which Śākyamuni seems to deny absolutely the possibility of any plurality of Buddhas: his dicta, for example, that there can never be two Buddhas in the world at the same time, and that to meet a Buddha is throughout all time the rarest of experiences. The answers given skirt the edges of sophistry or irrelevance. At best they fall back on the convenient excuse of the *upāya*, the strategem found expedient for salvation in a particular case. In this instance, for example, the questioner is told that had Śākyamuni spoken otherwise, had He admitted that Buddhas are everywhere at all times, His listeners would have relaxed their own efforts toward salvation; they needed the stimulus of worry to do their best.[159]

To the question, "Why has no one ever met one of these other Buddhas?" the answer is simple.[160] The Buddhas of the Ten Quarters and their Bodhisattvas, even the relatively nearby Maitreya, do not visit the Earth because mankind is so sinful, so blinded by ignorance or disbelief, that Their coming and going would pass unnoticed. In this phase of Buddhist teaching, we are told that though a Buddha is theoretically omnipotent He cannot or will not aid those who lack even the minimum readiness to receive Him. Śākyamuni preached for a lifetime at Śrāvastī, and yet only a third of the inhabitants could see

157 *Daizōkyō*, LV, pp. 40c–41a; translated by Waley, *Buddhist Texts through the Ages*, (E. Conze, editor), New York, 1954, pp. 288–289.

158 *Daizōkyō*, XXV, pp. 124aff.

159 *Ibid.*, p. 126a, b.

160 *Ibid.*, pp. 125b, c, 126b, c.

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Him (and profit by His sermons). A second third merely heard about Him, and the remainder were totally ignorant. The writer adds a forceful illustration. One day the Buddha and Ānanda met a poor old hag in the town. Ānanda, naively touched by her wretched state, begged his master to take pity and convert her. Śākyamuni's terrible answer (still full of the uncompromising spirit of Hīnayāna) was: "Her Karma will not permit it." Ānanda persisted: "Go close to her, and when she sees the luminousness of the Buddha's bodily attributes, her heart will be filled with a joy that will provide her with [a proper] Karma." Śākyamuni came very close, moved all around the old woman, even placed His hands over her eyes — and she noticed nothing at all.

The most important question concerning the infinitude of Buddhas is not asked in the chapter: what is their real relationship to Śākyamuni? The author provides the fragments of an answer in several passages. Explaining in an earlier paragraph how it was that the "historic" Buddha could be attacked, or insulted, or sent away empty-handed when He begged food, or could suffer pain, he emphasizes that all these trivial things happened to the Buddha in His human form. A Buddha has in reality two bodies; beside the one given him by His parents, "He has a spiritual body, a Dharmakāya, which fills the Ten Quarters of space, immeasurable and infinite . . . He is always assuming every kind of body, and name, and condition of birth, using every kind of expedient to convert all beings . . . He is able to convert the beings of the worlds throughout the Ten Quarters. He who takes into Himself all retribution for sin is the Buddha in His Dharmakāya . . ."[161]

Later we read again: "Although Śākyamuni possesses an immeasurable supernatural power that enables Him miraculously to create Buddhas in the Ten Quarters, so as to preach the Law and emit light and convert all beings, He is not actually able wholly to convert those beings in their totality . . ."[162]

The reader will see that this is the same explanation that is given in the "Lotus *Sūtra*."[163] Only oneness is real; plurality is an illusion created for expediency. It should be remembered, at the same time, that since Mahāyāna teaching was so deeply permeated with the *upāya* principle, the idea of the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters was a very important one for centuries at every level of thinking except perhaps the topmost. The *Ta Chih-tu Lun* itself in another chapter describes the bliss of seeing all these Buddhas in a special mystic ecstasy.[164] A discipline with the same goal of "seeing" is outlined at great length (and with a special emphasis on penitential rites) in the *sūtra* of the *kuan* group devoted to Samantabhadra. (There again, incidentally, the unity theme is recalled by referring to the beings as "Ten Quarters Śākyamuni's divided-body Buddhas").[165] At a much more popular level, finally, they were addressed in prayers by the devotees of plurality. When, for instance, the Central Indian missionary Gunabhadra met a typhoon on his way by ship to Canton in 435, he exhorted his fellow-travellers "with all their hearts and strength to think on the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters, and to call on Avalokiteśvara . . ."[166]

The Fifty-three Buddhas of the Past:

Two different sets of deities are characterized by this oddly-chosen number. One is given in Saṃghavarman's translation of the Sukhāvatī *sūtra*, to identify the sequence of Buddhas, beginning with Dīpaṃkara, who preceded the Buddha under whom the future Amitābha-Amitāyus made

161 *Ibid.*, pp. 121c–122a.
162 *Ibid.*, p. 125a.
163 See above, p. 183.
164 See above, p. 143.
165 Nanjio's no. 394, the *Kuan P'u-hsien P'u-sa Hsing Fa Ching*, translated by Dharmamitra in the 420's: *Daizōkyō*, IX, no. 277. For the point at issue here, see especially pp. 390c, 391a, c, 392b; also pp. 221 ff. below, for the cult in general.
166 From his biography in *ibid.*, L, p. 344a (*Kao SC*, iii).

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his great vows and entered on a Bodhisattva's career.[167] The other set is presented with much more fanfare in the *sūtra* of the *kuan* group that deals with the two Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata, translated in early Sung by Kālayaśas.[168] Their position is explained neither in time nor in space, but their importance is unmistakable; they constitute a mysterious source of the highest power. We are told that because very long ago the future Śākyamuni learned of Their names and imparted them to His disciples to the number of three thousand, all of those persons became or will become Buddhas, in groups of a thousand each. One group constituted the Thousand Buddhas who appeared in the aeon preceding the present one, the so-called "Glorious Kalpa." The second group makes up the Thousand who are appearing in the present, Bhadrakalpa; and the third will belong to the aeon to come, the "Kalpa of the Heavenly Bodies." In addition it is stated that all the innumerable Buddhas of the Ten Quarters reached that status because They had learned the names of the Fifty-three; and the names again are lauded by the Seven Buddhas of the Past.

It is clear that all this represents an intrusion into Buddhist teachings of the theme of the secret, magical names of God. Why the number fifty-three should have been chosen for the names I have no idea. Just possibly they represented for their creators the distant predecessors of the Seven Buddhas of the Past, and with the latter were intended to reach the more natural total of sixty. The last number, however, I have never seen used.

My one recorded instance of a Chinese use of the Fifty-three Buddhas is attested by an inscription at the rear of the Ku-yang cave at Lungmen, where They shared the dedication with Maitreya.[169]

The Thousand Kalpa Buddhas:

As we have seen in the section on the Fifty-three Buddhas, it was believed that the present age of the world, the Bhadrakalpa, together with its immediate predecessor and sucessor, have been assigned a total of three thousand Buddhas, to be evenly divided between them. The idea is an instance of the pressure to multiply that lies behind much of Mahāyāna development; at the same time it probably points to the triumph of the new numerical system, based on multiples of ten, over the traditional preference for sevens.

The Chinese were introduced to the Thousand Buddhas of the present age in the *Bhadrakalpa Sūtra*, translated by Dharmarakṣa in either 300 or 291, and secured, it is said, from a Kashmir monk.[170] The first of three consecutive sections (xx) gives the names of the Thousand, in the midst of which we find the familiar group Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākyamuni, and Maitreya. The second (xxi) gives routine information (as artificial, of course, as almost all of the names) about their birthplaces, families, parents, disciples, ages, the numbers in their audiences, the duration of the Dharma that each establishes, and so on, limiting this detailed coverage to about a tenth of the whole number. The third section (xxii) adds further details about the careers of a similar fraction.

Three anonymous *sūtras* assigned to the Liang dynasty deal separately with the three consecutive *kalpas*, using a common scheme of presentation.[171] Here the names are noticeably different from those in Dharmarakṣa's catalogue, and the

[167] *Ibid.*, XII, p. 267a.

[168] Nanjio's no. 305, the *Kuan Yao Wang Yao Shang Erh P'u-sa Ching: Daizōkyō*, XX, no. 1161. For the point at issue here, see especially, pp. 663c, 664a.

[169] Ōmura, p. 205; Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Ryūmon*, no. 613, pp. 303–304.

[170] Nanjio's no. 403, the *Hsien Chieh Ching: Daizōkyō*, XIV, no. 425, pp. 45cff. See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 941c–942a.

[171] *Daizōkyō*, XIV, no. 446, the *Kuo-ch'ü Chuang-yen Chieh Ch'ien Fo Ming Ching;* no. 447, the *Hsien-tsai Hsien Chieh Ch'ien Fo Ming Ching;* no. 448, the *Wei-lai Hsing-su Chieh Ch'ien Fo Ming Ching*. See especially p. 376a.

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familiar four or five, ending in Maitreya, come at the outset.

All of this material is put together mechanically, out of stereotyped demands and bargains; and in comparison with the savior or Paradise *sūtras* can have attracted only those who for some reason favored a plurality of gods. One small point of interest lies in the fact that the later versions require the worshipper to make images. The tract on the future *kalpa* makes only this general assertion,[172] while the one on the present has no such clause (if my observation is correct). The one on the past, "Glorious Kalpa," however, says:[173]

"Any worthy man or woman who hears the names of the World-honored Buddhas of the past, present, and future *kalpas*, who believes in them joyfully and reads and recites them without injurious intent; who may be able to copy them out by hand so that they may be explained to others, or who may be able to have painted Buddha icons fashioned, or may be able to worship them with incense, flowers, and music . . ."

In the T'ang dynasty the story told about the opening of the Tun-huang caves spoke of a miraculous appearance of the forms of the Thousand Buddhas, seen within a golden radiance, to the pilgrim-monk Lo-ts'un, who in consequence opened the first cave-shrine.[174] This tradition may possibly explain the special prevalence of the Thousand Buddha theme in the Tun-huang paintings; from the earliest preserved caves where They occupy a simply laid out checkerboard, to the highly ornamentalized versions of the tenth century ceilings.

"Buddha-in-the-flesh":

The rare iconographic subdivision called by the Chinese *jen chung Fo*, which I have loosely translated "Buddha-in-the-flesh," remains a puzzle. We have met it first in Sung entry 11, referring to a gilded statue made by a Northern monk who migrated to Soochow, in the last decades of the Eastern Chin or the beginning of the Sung. It reappears in Wei entry 18, as a detail in a fantastic story laid in the early sixth century, about the judgments imposed in Hell (where one of the condemned vainly claimed credit for making ten *jen chung hsiang*, "images-in-the-flesh." Wei entry 25 goes on to emphasize a hollow lacquer statue of the same iconographic type, remarkable both for its beauty and for the portents by which it announced the imminent downfall of the dynasty. Two of the Northern Ch'i inscriptions, dated in 559 and 575, add the *jen chung hsiang* qualifier to the Buddha's name.[175] We may note in addition the biography of the Sui monk Chih-lin in Tao-hsüan's sequel, x, which tells that for a temple built in 596 he provided five *jen chung hsiang* and one hollow lacquer image.[176]

The sum of these citations seems to me to discourage the attempt made by some Japanese scholars to associate the type solely with Vairocana Buddha.[177] We have no other indication that the latter was worshipped as early as around 400, nor any reason to expect His images to occur in groups of five or ten. This last figure, to be sure, may well have been used in the Wei story merely to indicate a fairly large number, rather than any specific set of deities, or divine manifestations; the Sui five, on the other hand, look like the primary group of directional Buddhas.

The phrase as such is not listed in the Japanese Buddhist encyclopedias that I have consulted, although its *jen chung* component appears in numerous epithets given the Buddha: He is "among men" honored, or like a lotus, or a lion, or a tree, or a lord of the herd, etc.[178] I can only surmise

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 393b.

[173] *Ibid.*, p. 365a.

[174] Ōmura, p. 518, quoting the T'ang stele of 698; see my p. 93 above.

[175] Ōmura, pp. 327, 354.

[176] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 504a.

[177] E. g. Ōmura, p. 141; and Matsumoto B. in *Bukkyō-shi Zakkō*, p. 337 and note 32.

[178] Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary*, p. 31.

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that the *jen chung hsiang* was intended to represent the Buddha in His mortal or physical body, as a naive definition of the Nirmāṇakāya (Jesus rather than the Christ-Logos). How the distinction between such an image and the usual one was drawn, or for what reason it was considered necessary in the few cases we have seen, are questions that I cannot answer.

THE BODHISATTVAS

Akṣayamati:

What little interest Chinese Buddhists showed in this figure was probably due to his association with Avalokiteśvara. He is the Bodhisattva mentioned in the "Lotus *Sūtra* whose question to Śākyamuni brings the famous explanation as to why Avalokiteśvara is so named.[1]

Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata:

These brother Bodhisattvas, the "Healer King" and the "Healer Superior" respectively, are a puzzling pair, perhaps because no early description of them has survived. Their key text is the "*Sūtra* Spoken by the Buddha on Visualizing the Two Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata," a highly elaborate and fanciful member of the *kuan* group translated by the Central Asian missionary Kālayaśas between 424 and 442 at the Sung capital.[2] In the midst of prescriptions for meditation on the two deities, amid a bombardment of miracles, this work tells briefly how they came to be important.[3]

Once upon a time, long long ago, when the Buddha of a certain age had passed into Nirvāṇa and responsibility for the Church had been handed down to His human followers, a monk named Sun-womb won celebrity as a leader. Two brothers in his congregation were particularly impressed by his virtues. One, a wealthy householder named Constellation's Light, after hearing a sermon about the divine "sweet dew medicine," made the preacher an offering of the medicinal fruit from the *haritaki* tree with various herbs, saying that those too would prevent old age and death. The monk received the gift with an incantation. On hearing this, as well as the sermon, the young man was overjoyed, adored all the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters, and uttered a great vow. He asked that the merit attained by his gift of "medicines from the Snowy Mountains" (i.e. the Himalāyas) might set him on the path toward full enlightenment, and make him one day a Buddha. In addition he promised that when he had attained "the pure strength of Bodhi, even though he might not yet be a Buddha, if any being heard [his] name and prayed, he would be rid of all three kinds of sickness and misery in this life; rid of all the 440 ills of the body, and freed from all the wretchedness of wrong-thinking, folly, and heresy."

His younger brother, Lightning Light, was so moved by his elder's example that he too made a gift to the whole brotherhood, "of a great quantity of *ghee* and beneficial herbs that he had in his house," and uttered a similar promise-prayer.

By the power of these medicines all the monks were freed from the two kinds of ailments, and so bestowed on the brothers their titles as healers.

Outside of this story, which may well be centuries older than the rest of the tract, the two heroes appear as full-fledged savior Bodhisattvas of a familiar type. They bear, indeed, an unmistakable likeness to their two greatest compe-

[1] See above, p. 157.
[2] See note 168 in the preceding chapter.
[3] *Daizōkyō*, XX, pp. 665aff.

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titors, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. The reader of their *sūtra* will find that its late date is betrayed both by eclectic interests and a frank imitativeness. Its author seems to have been as much aware of the strong points of existing Mahāyāna cults as the writer of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra*, and to have borrowed with no more compunction. As one would expect, his favorite sources were the "Lotus" and the literature on the Western Paradise. In addition he must have profited by a knowledge of at least some of the other works in the *kuan* group. He doubtless knew and imitated what I have called the "Sea" *sūtra*. He mentions specifically "the sea of mystic ecstasy attained by visualizing the Buddha" — the identical phrase — and exploits a similar stock of miracles.[4] Closest of all are his links with the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing Amitāyus," which must have been written by a near contemporary (both had the same translator in China, Kālayaśas). The descriptions of his two brothers as divine beings in glory might almost have been taken word for word from the other's vision of Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.[5]

We are told that the adept who meditates correctly "will be able to see Bhaiṣajyarāja Bodhisattva . . . as a body twelve *yojanas* tall, or when He suits himself to human needs, 180 feet, or even eight feet; the said body being purple-gold in color and possessing exactly the same thirty-two major and eighty minor attributes as a Buddha's. The *uṣṇīṣa* on the crown of His head has fourteen *maṇi* pearls; each pearl has fourteen edges; and between every two edges there are fourteen blossoms, so as to ornament His crown. Within the said crown there are the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters and Their Bodhisattvas, all seen in reflections like a fill of jewels. [A ray] the color of white glass, from the tuft between His eyebrows, winds round His body seven times like a white jewelled curtain . . . (etc. etc., in an increasingly fantastic vein)."

Bhaiṣajyasamudgata differs in being sixteen *yojanas* tall. "Inside His round halo there are sixteen millions of phantom Buddhas, eight feet tall, sitting cross-legged on jewelled lotuses; each accompanied by sixteen Bodhisattva attendants every one of whom holds a white blossom. Within the body aureole are the worlds of the Ten Quarters, with the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and Paradises all revealed there. The *uṣṇīṣa* on the crown of His head holds *maṇi* jewels like the *śakrābhilagna* [worn by Indra]. All four sides of the *uṣṇīṣa* are luminescent, emitting golden rays of light; between each pair of rays are four jewelled blossoms with all the colors of a hundred jewels; upon every blossom are phantom Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, now showing Themselves and now hidden, and in number beyond knowing . . . (etc. etc.)."

From an earlier Sukhāvatī *sūtra* must have been borrowed the idea that the two brothers, like Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, are to become Buddhas, one after the other, ruling over the same Paradise.[6] The striking difference should also be noted, however, that the two Healers are dependent on no single Buddha, while still in Their Bodhisattva state. Instead, They are several times brought into contact with the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters (here personified, with ten names);[7] or with the mysterious Fifty-three Buddhas of the Past.[8] At the end of the tract They are called "the Dharma sons through lustration [or baptism?] of all the World-honored Buddhas of the Past, the Present, and the Future."[9]

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 662c. He borrows in particular the earlier writer's favorite literary image, the million caverns enshrining millions of phantom Buddhas.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 662b, c; 663b, c.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 662a, b; cf. my p. 150 above.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 662a.

[8] See my p. 200 above.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 666a. The phrase used is *kuan ting*, "pouring on the head," the regular equivalent for the Sanskrit *abhiseka* (which we have met in the Six Dynasties translation of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *sūtra*, p. 170 above), Its relevance here is unexplained; probably it was intended to prove that the two Bodhisattvas were recognized and legitimate heirs, like the Indian rajahs who received the *abhiseka* rite at their coronation.

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The eclecticism with which I have charged the "Two Bodhisattvas" *sūtra* shows most clearly in the variety of paths that it recommends to the would-be worshipper. We learn first that it is an inestimable benefit merely to hear the two Healers' names. This is a privilege accorded to those who have made themselves worthy of it, by leading lives of virtue, faith, and meditative quietness. It will bring the further grace of hearing the names of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Ten Quarters, and the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. "Through the supernatural power attained by having heard the names of these two Bodhisattvas, such persons wherever they may be born during 500 *asaṅkhyas* of *kalpas* will never lapse into any of the evil forms of rebirth."[10]

The next revelation of power is through two incantations performed by the two brothers in order of Their seniority.[11] Bhaiṣajyarāja says of His that "just this kind of divine spell was spoken by the eighty millions of Buddhas in the past; is being spoken in the present time by the Buddha Śākyamuni; and will be spoken in the future by the Thousand Buddhas of this Bhadrakalpa. After the Buddha's Nirvāṇa if any monk or nun or lay convert, whether male or female, hears this spell, chants it, and keeps it; purifies himself from all the hindrances of past *karma* . . . in his mortal body practises the various mystic ecstasies, seeing the Buddha's phenomenal body in every thought; and until the end never forgets the unexcelled complete Enlightenment; then not any of all the kinds of evil demons that devour men's vital spirits, not *yakṣas* . . . [etc., etc.] will be able to break in and harm him, anywhere. And at the end of his life, the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters will all come to welcome him, and he may go to be reborn wherever he wishes, in any of Their foreign Paradises."

The third approach is through the technique of visualization. Seeing is not only a high goal in itself, but brings accessory benefits. From Bhaiṣajyarāja's "ten finger-tips rain down every sort of treasure.[12] Any person who can visualize the Bodhisattva's ten finger-tips will find himself miraculously rid of all the 404 kinds of bodily ailments . . . The adept who sees the rays that stream forth, like a hundred millions of *maṇi* jewels, from every single one of the Bodhisattva's hair sockets, will have his six senses purified. Thereafter he will see the worlds of the Ten Quarters, with their 500 myriads of millions of *nayutas* of Buddhas and Their Bodhisattvas, absolving sins by Their preaching of the marvellous sweet dew medicine. He who takes that medicine will obtain 500 myriads of millions of turnings of the Gateway of Spells . . ."

The passage that describes the vision of Bhaiṣajyasamudgata in glory goes on to make a promise in familiar terms (since they are borrowed from the "Lotus" chapter on Avalokiteśvara).[13] "Any person in the four categories [of believers] who hears this name of Bhaiṣajyasamudgata Bodhisattva . . . who keeps it . . . who invokes it . . . who visualizes that Bodhisattva's body: him will the Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyasamudgata gather up in the light that streams from His body. The said light may take the form of Maheśvara (i.e. Śiva], or of Brahmā, or of Māra, or of Indra, or of the Four Lokapālas, or of an Asura, or of a Gandharva, or of a Kinnara, or of a Mahoraga, or of a Garuḍa; of a human or non-human being, or of a Nāga; of a monarch, or of a high minister, or of a householder, or of a landlord, or of a monk, or of a Brāhman, or of a hermit, or of a grandparent, or of a parent (these of either sex), or of a brother, a sister, a beloved wife, or any other relative; or of a skilled physician, or of a good friend. The adept in his dreams will see whichever of these simulacra is manifested, preaching the divine spells spoken by Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata; and at once he will be absolved of the sins of as many past *kalpas* as previously enumerated . . ."

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 661a, b.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 661c–662b.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 662c.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 663b, c.

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The paragraph that introduces the Fifty-three Buddhas of the Past promises that anyone who can invoke Their names "will wherever he may be born always be able to meet the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters."[14] As we have seen, it is further claimed that this combination of knowing and invoking was responsible for the selection of both the Three Thousand Buddhas of the three current *kalpas*, and the existing Buddhas of the Ten Quarters.[15] The text then sweeps on to state the terms of a final bargain:[16]

"Any beings who may be desirous of winning absolution from the four mortal sins, of doing penance for the five offenses or the ten evil acts... must zealously recite the incantations of the two Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata, must reverently worship the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters ... and the Seven of the Past ... and the Fifty-three ... and the Thousand of this Bhadrakapla ... and the Thirty-five[17] ... and again the immeasurable total of all those in the Ten Quarters. Night and day at the six appointed hours, with his mind clear and acute, he will practise the rite of penitence ... Then he will fix his thoughts on the pure phenomenal bodies of the Two Bodhisattvas. When one meditates on those Two Bodhisattvas ... all the roots of goodness planted by that man before the Buddhas through innumerable kalpas of the past will by the power of that original goodness, be his adornment. In a single meditation he will be able to see all the countless Buddhas of the Eastern Quarter ... [etc., etc.]"

The "Lotus" *sūtra* presents the two Bodhisattvas in a quite different light, in two of its "appended" chapters. In one They appear in an earlier incarnation as brother princes, who have studied devoutly under the Buddha of Their day and are able to win over to the true faith Their heretic father.[18] They have little to do except to demonstrate for him the magical powers They have won, mounting into the sky to walk, stand, sit, or lie down, expanding Their bodies or contracting them or vanishing, etc. It is a little surprising, therefore, to find that at the end of the chapter they are identified with the Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata in Śākyamuni's audience, and are highly praised for all the seeds of goodness They have planted in innumerable places throughout the past.[19] (Dharmarakṣa's translation, borrowing a phrase from the vocabulary of Taoism, says that They "are perfect in Tao and Te.") Then comes a curious promise: anyone who hears Their names, and holds, keeps, and cherishes them (thus Dharmarakṣa; Kumārajīva has: "who recognizes the characters for their names") will be honored by gods and men everywhere.

The other chapter deals only with the elder brother, Bhaiṣajyarāja, ascribing to Him a feat of extraordinary heroism.[20] Once more He is cast in an earlier incarnation, this time as a Bodhisattva with a name something like "Delightfull to all Eyes." His function in the story is to illustrate in the most forcible manner possible the virtue of absolute, self-effacing devotion. He lives in the time of a Buddha, whose preaching fills Him with such adoring gratitude that He can render adequate thanks only by burning His own body on a pyre. The story is filled with fantastic details. He is said to have burned for 1200 years, and then to have been reborn into the

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 663c–664a.

[15] See above, p. 201.

[16] *Daizōkyō*, XX, p. 664a, b.

[17] *Re* the 35 Buddhas see Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 1543c to 1544a. One set is named in Nanjio's no. 36, the *Chüeh-ting P'i-ni Ching*, a translation of uncertain date: *Daizōkyō*, XII, no. 325, pp. 38c–39a. The 35 are also referred to as a group in another member of the *kuan* group, Nanjio's no. 70, the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing the Bodhisattva Akasagarbha," *Kuan Hsü-k'ung-tsang P'u-sa Ching*, also translated in early Sung by Dharmamitra: *Daizōkyō*, XIII, no. 409, p. 677ff. P. 677b recommends them as saviors to be invoked; while the vision of Akasagarbha reveals them manifested in His crown.

[18] *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 131a, 59cff.; Soothill's translation, pp. 255ff., Kern's pp. 419ff.

[19] *Daizōkyō*, pp. 132c, 59c–60a.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 125a, 53aff.; Soothill's pp. 236ff., Kern's pp. 376ff.

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same world, where He had one more opportunity of visiting His beloved Buddha. The latter, on the point of entering Nirvāṇa, made Him His spiritual heir, and then passed away. The Bodhisattva, filled with grief, cremated His Lord's remains, collected the relics and divided them among 84,000 precious urns, which He installed in 84,000 richly decorated *stūpas*. (Dharmarakṣa's translation at this point provides a modern note by saying: "At the front of these pagoda temples He set up images ... and lit innumerable lamps.") Then as a final offering to the relics He set fire to His own arms, which burned this time for 72,000 years. At the last, because the congregations that waited on Him were so distressed at the sight of His mutilated body, He restored Himself miraculously to His former perfect beauty.

Śākyamuni, after telling this tale, retails a new bargain:[21] "Anyone in whose heart there grows up the desire to obtain full and perfect enlightenment, and who can burn a finger or even a toe as an offering to a Buddhist *stūpa;* that man outranks as a worshipper him who offers domain, cities, wife, children, or the natural wealth of all the three thousand great chiliocosms."

Underneath this extraordinary tangle of superstition and magic one common set of roots may be traced. Somewhere in the Western Buddhist world, long before the first "Lotus" translation was made in 286 — and so perhaps in the first or second centuries — Mahāyāna believers must have begun to entrust their hopes for miraculous healing to a pair of deified brothers. Probably all that was at first expected of these specialized saviors was implicit in the stress on medicines in both Their names. It is natural to assume that the source of this idea lay in the immemorial pagan tradition of the twin helpers of mankind whom the Indians had known as the Asvins, "the physicians of the gods," and who in the Greco-Roman world were worshipped as the Dioscuri.[22]

The fact that later cult leaders should have made use of the brothers for very different purposes, was probably in part a tribute to the succes of the loan from the pagan past. In the sphere of religious healing the names Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata must have enjoyed a prestige that the tract-writers hoped to exploit for their own profit. Perhaps no more than this was involved when the author of the Bhaiṣajyarāja chapter of the "Lotus" attributed his shocking acts of self-sacrifice to the elder brother; He was a popular deity who might help to make a difficult theme more palatable. On the other hand there are echoes in the "Lotus" story that suggest that the choice was a more deliberate one, and determined by stranger circumstances. The principal motifs of the tale form a strange combination, once their veneer of Buddhist ideology has been stripped away. The hero is young and beautiful. He is a great healer. He mutilates himself deliberately, and is made whole again by a miracle. He perishes by fire. All of these details may be reassembled — of course with a different local coloring — about the figure of the physician-god of the Phoenician city-states, Eshmun, who in the Greco-Roman period was widely worshipped as an Asiatic form of Asklepios.[23] Eshmun's name was interpreted as meaning "the eighth"; his seven brothers were held to be the equivalents of the protector-demigods whom the Greeks knew by such names as the Dioskuroi or the Kabeiroi. (The number seven is of course a local peculiarity). Through his amalgamation with Asklepios, Eshmun must have shared the myth of the latter's fiery end; the Greeks held that their healer-hero so interfered with the natural process of dying that Pluto complained, and Zeus consumed him with a thunder-bolt.

[21] *Daizōkyō*, p. 54a; the passage is lacking in Dharmarakṣa's version.

[22] See above, pp. 153 ff.

[23] See under "Esmun" in Roscher's *Lexikon;* under "Eshmun" in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-enzyklopedie;* also W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations*, New Haven, 1925, pp. 135–141.

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(There is a similar story told about the Asvins in the *Mahābhārata*, by the way. The *dénouement* takes a different turn, in that it is said that the two healer-brothers were protected by the sage Chyavana, to whom they had restored his youth; and their champion successfully held off the wrath and the thunderbolts of Zeus' Indian counterpart, Indra).[24]

By another overlapping of attributes, this time with Tammuz-Adonis, the Eshmun legend came to incorporate the pathetic motif of self-multilation. He was said to be so fair that the mother-goddess herself fell in love with him. To escape her desperate importunity, he castrated himself. After mourning him sorrowfully, she had him miraculously restored to life and wholeness, and won him admission among the ranks of the gods.

I believe that the details of the "Lotus" chapter may be best explained by assuming some distant connection with this cluster of Mediterranean legends (which may have been carried into the interior by traders, soldiers, or prisoners of war); and so propose that the story as a whole, like so much else in the Mahayana canon, was a hybrid fashioned in the areas west or northwest of the Indian frontier. (The Tammuz-Adonis cult, incidentally, furnishes a possible corroboration of this theory. A Chinese encyclopedia of the late eight century notes a detail of popular worship in Samarkand that has a most familiar ring. At mid-summer the people there celebrated an annual rite that re-enacted the death of a divine child, whose body was thereafter symbolically searched for by parties of mourning men and women.)[25]

The motif of sacrifice by burning, the most noticeable change carried out in adapting the pagan narrative to Buddhist use, poses other difficulties. The practise seems to have been non-Aryan, in the traditional sense of the word, since it is not mentioned in the Vedas or Brāhmanas. Our first proof that self-burning might be carried out in the early Buddhist period comes from the testimony of the Greeks who followed Alexander to the Indus, and watched his Indian friend and protege, the sage "Kalanos," methodically terminate his life on a funeral pyre.[26] Whether the idea was in origin "Dravidian," or foreign, or a natural development out of the conditions existing at the end of the age of the Brāhmanas, one may imagine that it acquired strength through its very unpleasantness; suicide by fire was the most painful, and so presumably the most rewarding, of the forms of self-torture that an ascetic might practise. The law books ascribed to Vāsistha — impossible to date with any precision, but certainly post-Brāhmanical and pre-mediaeval — show what looks like an early stage: burning to death is on the one hand the punishment for the grossest crimes; and on the other a verse proclaims: "By entering a fire the world of Brahman [is gained]."[27] In the great epics, where a constantly recurring theme is the supreme power attained through extreme forms of self-mortification, the fire sacrifice provides an occasionally-used climax. The most vividly presented statement of the sort occurs in the *Mahābhārata*'s "story-within-a-story" of the fanatically ambitious ascetic youth Yavakrida, who sought to impress his fellows and to win the favor of Indra through the most rigorous austerities. Heedless of Indra's compassionate attempt to dissuade him, he pushed his self-torment so far

24 Dowson, *Hindu Mythology*, pp. 74–75 under "Chyavana."

25 See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kieu (Turcs) Occidentaux*, Paris, n. d., p. 133 n., quoting a description of the West by a certain Wei Chieh (unknown, but at least early T'ang in date).

26 See Arrian, "Anabasis of Alexander," vii, 2–3; in the translation by E. J. Robson for the Loeb series, London and New York, 1933, II, pp. 209–213. According to the Greeks, "Kalanos" was moved merely to end a life made disagreeable by infirmities; but doubtless their interpretation was a superficial one.

27 Translated in *SBE*, XIV, Oxford, 1882, by G. Bühler as *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas;* see pp. 106, 108, 109 for typical examples of the punishment, and p. 136 for the promise (from Vāsistha, xxix, 4).

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that the gods were filled with horror and distress. When Indra once again warned him to desist, he threatened defiantly to cut off his limbs one by one and sacrifice them by fire. Here the moral of the story is still a condemnation. Yavakrida's presumption is an attack on the old order, which still has the power to condemn him as a fool through its traditional spokesman, Indra. The special goal that he seeks by his austerities is an unequalled learning in the lore of the Vedas; all reasonable people, from Indra down, know that such wisdom can be attained only by hard study, and to attempt a short-cut can lead only to humiliation.[28]

The one story that I have found in the epics that matches the premises of the "Lotus" chapter occurs in the last, and latest book of the *Rāmayāna*, the "Uttara Kandam." There, in the midst of a fantastic elaboration of the themes made familiar in the earlier books, we find an explanation of the superhuman might possessed by the ogre-villain, Rāvana. He had previously practised self-mortification by fasting for ten thousand years, and as a culminating act had cut off nine of his ten heads, and sacrificed them by fire. As he was about to offer up his last head to Brahmā, the god appeared before him, pleased by his devotion, and granted him the boon of invincibility.[29] (This is probably as close an approach to the complete self-surrender of Bhaiṣajyarāja in the "Lotus" chapter as the grossly secular imaginations that composed the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmayāna* could be expected to achieve).

Indian Buddhism, in borrowing at a relatively late date the motif of self-burning, of course grafted it onto a general theme of self-sacrifice that had been familiar for some time in the Jātaka stories. The natural prototypes for Bhaiṣajyarāja (and perhaps for Rāvana) must have been the heroic, legendary Bodhisattvas who were willing to give even their own bodies to satisfy the demands of charity: most particularly the four incarnations celebrated in the Gandhāran region, in which the future Śākyamuni had given his flesh to ransom a dove, his body to feed a starving tiger family, and his eyes and head simply for the asking.

Though it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to trace the idea of suicide by fire to any particular region, I believe that it could with time and pains be demonstrated that the Mahāyāna literature of the northern borderlands shows in general a much higher awareness of fire and light than do the Buddhist books composed wholly within the old Indian domain. The sharpest geographical definition of this heightened interest is given by Buddhist art moving out of India into the Northwest and Central Asia. The sculpture of Afghanistan, for example, is in most respects closely similar to that of Gandhāra on the other side of the border passes. Its most immediately recognizable difference is an iconographic elaboration: radiation of light from the divine person is extended from a mere round halo to an aureole enclosing the whole body; and often flames are shown bursting from the shoulders, as a token of the irrepressible fires within.[30]

It is, I think, a story typical of a northern and Iranian region rather than of Mahāyāna as a whole that is told about the small country of "Wu-sha" in southwestern Chinese Turkestan by the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang.[31] The Buddhists there were amazed to find one of their mountains split apart, disclosing the gigantic body of an Arhat deep in meditation. On rousing himself the holy man revealed that he was a disciple of the past Buddha Kāśyapa. He asked whether or not Śākyamuni had yet been born into the world;

[28] Pp. 116–117 in the abridged translation by C. Rajagopalachari, Bombay, 1953.

[29] In the translation by Makhan Lal Sen, Calcutta, n. d., III, p. 299.

[30] See my "Aspects of Light Symbolism" in *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, 1–2, pp. 71 ff., and above, p. 178, with reference to the iconography and legend of the Buddha Dīpaṁkara.

[31] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 942b, c; in Beal's translation, II, pp. 305–306.

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and on learning that the latter, too, had come and gone into Nirvāṇa, he rose into the air, and went through the classic cycle of levitation miracles. Up to this point the tale bears an obvious likeness to one that we shall meet in the section on Maitreya.[32] There it is Śākyamuni's disciple Mahā Kāśyapa who is immured in a mountain to await the coming of Maitreya, and who is ultimately revealed. When his message has been transmitted, he too performs the conventional miracles in the sky. But the Maitreya texts, written presumably under a less powerful Iranian influence, say thereafter simply that his body disintegrated; whereas in the case of the Arhat of "Wu-sha," his huge frame is said to have burst into flames, and to have been consumed by fire.

Greco-Roman literature contains one other celebrated notice of an Asiatic suicide by fire that may be set as a complement against the case of "Kalanos." At the middle of the second century, A.D., the eclectic philosopher Peregrinus Proteus burned himself to death publicly at Olympios during the performance of the Games.[33] The motive back of his demonstration may, I think, be traced to the same sort of source as that which created the "Lotus" chapter. Peregrinus had no known contact with India, but he had travelled and studied widely in the Near East, from Armenia to Egypt, and somewhere must have learned the terrible beauty of the fire-cult. He was the most conspicuous non-Buddhist victim of an idea that within the Buddhist world claimed its human sacrifices as far afield as China. The contents of both Chinese monks' biographies, the *Ming Seng Chuan* and the *Kao Seng Chuan*, contain chapters on religious suicides, the majority of which were by fire.[34] Several of the Chinese zealots dedicated themselves to Bhaiṣajyarāja as they died; and in one case a temple to the Bodhisattva was raised on the site of the pyre.

As I have suggested earlier, I believe that the healing function of the two brothers, after lying half-forgotten for centuries under a tangle of irrelevant ideas, was revived and given a much better chance of success by the creation of one single divine physician with an even higher rank than Theirs: the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru.

Kṣitigarbha:

The chief early source of information about this Bodhisattva is the "Great Expansive *Sūtra* of the Ten Wheels," translated anonymously under the semi-barbarian Northern Liang dynasty (397–439).[35] The book as a whole is concerned with problems of faith and behavior. Kṣitigarbha is all-important only in the preface, where His praises as a savior are extravagantly sung. He appears for a few more chapters in the formal role of questioner, and then disappears. He has no necessary connection with the subject matter in general; and the reader may well wonder whether His presence is not the result of a relatively late addition, made in the hope of launching a new cult.

The Bodhisattva that the *sūtra* sketches for us is an obvious late-comer. His functions are patterned on those of Avalokiteśvara, as set forth in the latter's chapter at the end of the "Lotus." The writer seems to have hoped that he could improve on his model by omitting all elements not absolutely essential to his theme of rescue,

[32] See below, p. 214.

[33] See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopedie*, under "Peregrinus Proteus." Lucian's contemptuous account of the proceedings may be found in the translation by H. W. and F. G. Fowler, Oxford, 1905, IV, pp. 79ff.

[34] In *Kao SC*, see xii (*Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 403c–406b). The number included here, eleven, seems to have been deliberately reduced – perhaps because of the author's disapproval – from the nineteen given in the *Ming Seng Chuan*; see Wright, "Biography and Hagiography," p. 388. It may be noted in addition that *Chien-k'ang SL*, xii, p. 10v, has an entry for the year 426 telling that a certain Chang Ch'u burned two of his fingers in praying to "a god" (*shen*) that his 104-year old mother might recover from a critical illness; whereupon she did.

[35] Nanjio's no. 65, the *Ta Fang-kuang Shih Lun Ching*: *Daizōkyō*, XIII, no. 410. See also Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 3595ff., under "Jizō Bosatsu"; and Waley, *Catalogue*, pp. xxiv–xxvi.

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and by expanding and underlining that main theme itself to the maximum degree. Kṣitigarbha comes "out of the south" with no story, and no attachment to a Buddha, and so no Paradise to which He might invite His worshippers. No detailed description is given of His divine person in glory, to invite the interest of meditators. Even the bargain that He offers has been stripped down to the briefest and easiest kind of payment; if my observation is correct, there are no clauses about penitence and formal acts of worship and good behavior. Instead, the reader will find a very long, slow-moving development of the theme that He is all-powerful as a savior, and promises relief from a greater variety of troubles than any competitor. The list of perils and pains from which He is ready to extricate those who merely call on His name is reminiscent of Avalokiteśvara's, but much more detailed and all-embracing. He will feed the starving, clothe the naked, heal the sick, rescue from all sorts of dangers to body or spirit, protect from demons or wild beasts or the assaults of one's own evil instincts, remove from prison, etc., etc.

In order to further Kṣitigarbha's task of universal salvation we are told that He may assume any one of a great number of bodies. Here again the idea goes back to the Avalokiteśvara chapter, and is "improved" in this second telling. The list of possible incarnations begins with the gods, presented in the traditional order from Brahmā down to the Four Lokapalas; passes to the ranks of the professional Buddhists; continues through the human hierarchy, and the beings who are partially or wholly demi-gods or demons, and the world of animals; and terminates with those who administer judgment in the Hells, "the body of King Yama, or those of Hell's lictors, or the body of Hell itself."

In a final call for attention the *sūtra*'s note becomes shrill. "He is the mother of all the Bodhisattva Dharmas, and the peerless leader of those merchants who seek the Great Nirvāṇa. Master is he over Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, and the like; and so it is that if any man should for the Space of a hundred *kalpas* worship all the great Bodhisattvas, [in number like] the sands of the Ganges, wishing for answers to his prayers, he will not equal the worship that might be offered for the space of a single meal to the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha."[36]

The claims in favor of Kṣitigarbha made in the "Ten Wheels" *sūtra* were apparently premature, for the Bodhisattva became a truly popular figure only in the latter half of the T'ang dynasty. In the Six Dynasties He seems to have been virtually unknown. My records include only one notice of Him (Liang entry 24); and that — an anecdote about a painting of Kṣitigarbha "done by Chang Seng-yu" — comes from so much later a source that the attribution may well have been mistaken.

Three details in the *sūtra* merit individual attention. In the first place Kṣitigarbha is described as having the forms of a monk; a radical departure from the Bodhisattva pattern that may indicate a desire to recapture prestige for the Hīnayāna way.[37]

Secondly, the germ of Kṣitigarbha's eventually great popularity as a rescuer from Hell probably lies in the *sūtra* passage I have quoted above, claiming that He may be present in disguise within the body of the infernal judge, or of any tormentor.

The mid seventh century *Pien Cheng Lun*, v, in an isolated reference speaks of Kṣitigarbha as a protector of China. I can explain this belief only by a clause among the *sūtra*'s promises that speaks of the perils "of armies in combat, of being surrounded by brigands, and of the fear of death in the face of one's enemies."[38]

Maitreya:

Maitreya was known to early Chinese Buddhists in three distinct roles. Readers of the *sūtras*

[36] *Daizōkyō*, XIII, pp. 684c–685a.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 681c.
[38] *Ibid.*, LII, p. 1524c, and XIII, p. 684b.

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found Him mentioned on occasion as a member of Śākyamuni's audience. He was the great Bodhisattva who rules over the Tuṣita Heaven, and welcomes believers to share its joys. Finally he was the Buddha-to-be, who in the far distant future is to return to a purified and happy world, attain Enlightenment, and lead countless hosts to salvation.

The last-named role must have been the primary one. It seems clear that Maitreya was first of all the Buddhist solution to the yearning for a Messiah that took on such strength over the whole Near and Middle East in the centuries after Alexander. The strongest encouragement toward defining His personality and mission probably came into India from the outside world. The Indian mind, with its instinct for expansion and multiplication, was entirely capable of projecting the Buddha idea into the future. In the end it reached the typical Indian conclusion that the Three Ages, past, present, and future, have had equally distributed between them an infinite number of Buddhas, as countless and as identical as the sands of the Gangeṣ. The Maitreya myth was unlike all other Buddhist projections across space and time in being unique, not merely a duplication or an equivalent of something else. In an age when the theory of the periodicity of Buddhas was accepted, and Śākyamuni had come to be counted the seventh of those who had come in succession to preach and to convert, Maytreya was the single savior imaginable in the future. His mission involved not merely a quantitative assymmetry, one against seven. The world to which He was to come was pictured as a golden age, utterly unlike the miserable state of things that Śākyamuni had known. It was also a terminus beyond which the ordinary imagination, at least, had no power to penetrate, an end of change, a blissful stoppage of time.

The similarity between these themes and those of the great savior cults of the lands farther to the west is unmistakable (though the Buddhist version of the story was purged of all terror and destruction, and Maitreya was pictured neither as a conqueror nor as a judge). In view of the general pressure exerted by Iranian culture on Northwest India in the age of foreign rulers between the Mauryan and Guptan dynasties, it is most likely that the resemblance points to Persia as a source. In this connection there may be more than a coincidence in the fact that the very name Maitreya is phonetically close to Mithra (particularly in other versions than the Sanskrit); and that His occasional pseudonym Ajita has the same meaning as Mithra's epithet, which the Romans rendered "invictus."[39] In the conventional Mazdaean system, to be sure, the personality of Mithra was kept distinct from that of the Saoshyant, or savior-to-come. But it must always have been difficult to satisfy popular longing with an anonymous Messiah when other candidates were available. The urge to identify the hero of the future with a figure loved and trusted in the present must have been great; and in the hearts of his worshippers Mithra may well have taken over the attributes of the Saoshyant, as he had earlier absorbed the personality of the sun god.[40]

The belief in Maitreya's golden age must have developed fairly early, since it is recorded in Hīnayāna texts as well as Mahāyāna ones, and there in the Pāli versions as well as in the Sanskrit *sūtras* that were translated into Chinese. In China

[39] See Przyluski, *Açoka*, pp. 175 ff.; and Lévi, "Maitreya le consolateur," in *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932, pp. 355 ff.

[40] If this equation is valid, it may be supported by the fact that the legends that grew up around both saviors emphasized the key role of a sacred lake in their coming. The Saoshyant is to appear from a "Lake Kansavya" – perhaps the Hāmūn on the western border of Afghanistan (see E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, Princeton, 1947, p. 177). In Nepal it was believed at least by the seventh century that the crown that Maitreya is to wear was secreted in a lake southwest of the capital (so the T'ang envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'e was told; quoted in *Fa Yüan CL*, xvi, *Daizōkyō*, LIII, p. 405a).

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the story was told without important variations in four early works. In the order of their translation dates, these were:

A "*Sūtra* of Maitreya's Birth Here Below," done around A.D. 300 by Dharmarakṣa.[41]

Chapter xliv of the "Sermons Arranged by Categories in Ascending Numerical Order," or *Tseng I A-han Ching*, done from the Sanskrit *Ekkottarāgama* by Dharmanandi in 384–385.[42]

Two tracts translated by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the fifth century: a "*Sūtra* on Maitreya's Rebirth Here Below and Becoming Buddha";[43] and a "Grand *Sūtra* on Maitreya's Becoming Buddha."[44]

All four of these dilate on the peace, plenty, and beauty of the age into which Maitreya is to be reborn. The world will be ruled without the need of force by a universal monarch, a Cakravartin or Wheel-king, whose great armies will never be used. (The Buddhists were careful to distinguish between the martial and pacific motifs in the borrowed Savior story, and so divided them between two persons.) His capital will be splendid, in ways that recall "the Heavenly City, the New Jerusalem," and like the latter it will need no sun nor moon, for the Buddha will give it light. The city will have two supernatural guardians to keep it safe, a Nāga king and a Yakṣa, tamed and converted to the Buddha's service. The natural wealth of the time will be immensely increased when four great secret deposits of treasure, which have been watched over for ages by Nāga kings (as in the legend of the Rhine-gold) are opened and distributed as alms. (A curiously close parallel to this theme occurs in a passage of pre-Christian date in the Jewish apocalyptic "Book of Enoch"; there in the golden age the Lord is to open the store chambers of blessing in Heaven, and to send their contents down to Earth.)[45]

Maitreya will choose two impeccable parents, a royal councillor and his beautiful wife. This idea, by the way, marks a significant change in the Buddha pattern. Śākyamuni had been a Kṣatriya in caste, the son of a petty king, and the Brāhmans of His day were usually His opponents. Now it was required that Maitreya should be an unmistakable Brāhman, and so not a king's son; His parents were to bear the suggestive names Subrahmā and Brahmabaddiya. The substitution must testify to the growing influence of the Brāhman caste inside the Buddhist church. (Some additional pressure to carry out the change may have come with the Savior idea itself from Iran; since Persian doctrine taught that the Saoshyant was to be a supernaturally conceived son of Zoroaster, and thus a *magus* — the Iranian equivalent of a Brāhman — by descent.)[46]

Born into this idyllic world, Maitreya will have all the distinguishing marks, the majestic beauty, and the radiance of a proper Buddha. (One of Kumārajīva's translations adds: "He will look like a golden statue.")[47] He will attain Enlightenment (under a "Dragon-flower Tree"), preach, and convert like Śākyamuni, but with a much more conspicuous success. At the three grand assemblies over which He will preside, enormous numbers will be won *en masse* for the Buddhist Way, and will be raised at once to the secure and blissful state of Arhats. Māra, the personification of desire, will cooperate meekly from the start, instead of doing his best to tempt or discourage. Maitreya's life as a Buddha will be immensely long, where Śākyamuni had been contented with

[41] Nanjio's no. 208, the *Mi-lo Hsia Sheng Ching: ibid.*, XIV, no. 453.

[42] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 787cff.

[43] The *Mi-lo Hsia Sheng Ch'eng Fo Ching: ibid.*, XIV, no. 454.

[44] The *Mi-lo Ta Ch'eng Fo Ching: ibid.*, XIV, no. 456.

[45] In the translation by R. H. Charles (in *Early Documents*, I, 3, *Palestinian Jewish Texts)*, London, 1921, p. 39. With more timidity, for the question is disputed, I wish to point to another possible Jewish parallel, the belief suggested by some texts in the coming of *two* Messiahs, "from Aaron and from Israel" (and hence representing the priestly and the royal functions, respectively). See M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York, 1955, pp. 264–265.

[46] A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944, p. 148. See also note 45 above.

[47] *Daizōkyō*, XIV, p. 424b.

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an ordinary human span; and thus the supreme blessedness of associating with Him will be prolonged almost into timelessness. (There may be some indication of the priority of Maitreya's Earthly Paradise over Amitābha's Sukhāvatī in the relative moderation with which His eternity is described. He is to rule 84,000 years, the standard supernatural number. In Saṃghavarman's Sukhāvatī translation, it is stated that the length of Amitābha's life is too indescribably immense for any mind but a Buddha's to imagine.)[48]

In one other notable detail, things will be much better than before: both the Buddha and ordinary humans will be a great deal taller than in present human experience. (The Buddhist imagination had the curious habit of identifying well-being and great size.) The change is dramatized in an episode that breaks the otherwise monotonous record of Maitreya's successes. He and His host go to the Vulture Peak, where Śākyamuni had preached, and discover a sealed cavern, within which Śākyamuni's great Brahman disciple, the aged Mahā Kāśyapa, has been waiting entranced for ages against the coming of the new Savior.[49] When the cave is opened and its occupant is exposed, Maitreya's disciples are at first contemptuous; he is so tiny and mean-looking. Only after Maitreya has courteously explained that just that sort of handicap was the true measure of Śākyamuni's greatness, are they impressed by the miracle. (It has been pointed out elsewhere that the general flavor of this story is much like that of the Iranian legend telling of the long, death-like sleep of the hero Keresaspa, who is to be raised at the Last Day to aid the Savior in his final battle against Evil.)[50]

Maitreya's two other roles are clearly derived from His Messiahship. It was an effective story-telling device to include Him among Śākyamuni's listeners. The prophecy of His mission could be made most dramatically when it was possible to point to a living being in the midst of the throng, and announce that that very man would some day be reborn as the Savior of the world. In one Hīnayāna report of the prophecy, by the way, that given in the "Sermons of Medium Length" (or *Chung A-han Ching*, translated from the Sanskrit *Madhyamāgama* by Gautama Saṃghadeva in 402–403) a troublesome feature of earlier versions was ingeniously rectified.[51] It must have puzzled many of the faithful that the being who was called Maitreya, "the Compassionate One," should also be known by the incongruous name Ajita, "Unconquerable." Here the two names are assigned to two different disciples; and while "the worthy Maitreya" is named by Śākyamuni as the future Buddha, "the worthy Ajita" asks for and is promised a prize suited to his martial personality, rebirth as the Wheel King of the golden age.

The Mahāyāna writers presumably borrowed the idea of making Maitreya a listener to Śākyamuni because it was a handy way of keeping His name familiar. With the change of sect He became a "Bodhisattva Mahāsattva" instead of a mere monk. In that guise He appears several times in the "Lotus *Sūtra*," for example, as the spokesman for the other Bodhisattvas.

The third role must have grown out of the Buddhist fondness for parallelism and cyclical repetition. Śākyamuni had spent His last incarnation before achieving Buddha-hood as the Lord of the Tuṣita Heaven; so should Maitreya, to make the pattern complete. The new master, however, was given a much broader function than the old. He was not merely to preside over the sober pleasures of the Tuṣita gods, but also to attract as many human worshippers as possible by the promise of a sure and easy rebirth into His realm. The first clear statement of this new possi-

[48] Compare *ibid.*, p. 423b, and *ibid.*, XII, p. 309a.

[49] Przyluski, *Açoka*, pp. 327–340, 167ff.; and "Le nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūla-sarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés," *Journ. As.*, 11th ser., IV, 1914, pp. 522–526.

[50] Przysluski, *Açoka*, pp. 178–179; and Soper, "Aspects of Light Symbolism," *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 4, pp. 328–340.

[51] *Daizōkyō*, I, p. 509c.

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bility was made in the Samantabhadra chapter of the "Lotus," a part of the "appendix" usually considered of later date than the rest of the book. The general tenor of the promise made there is that any pious believer in the *sūtra* need have no fear of death, for he will escape any evil fate, and instead go to the Tuṣita realm on high."

In elaborating on the promise, the two Chinese translations of the "Lotus" differ in a way that may indicate something of the growth of the Maitreya cult in the interval of a century [the fourth] between them. Both Kumārajīva and the Sanskrit author chosen for the Sacred Books of the East version use what sounds like a standard cult phrase; they say that the believer "will go to the Tuṣita Heaven on high where the Bodhisattva Maitreya dwells; that Bodhisattva Maitreya who possesses the thirty-two major attributes, and is surrounded by a host of great Bodhisattvas. He will be reborn there with a hundred thousand myriad millions of heavenly maidens about him."[52] Dharmarakṣa quotes two promises of the kind, and the first says merely that the believer "after death will be born in the Tuṣita Heaven. He will go to be reborn in Heaven on high, where a host of 84,000 'jade maidens' [a phrase borrowed from the Taoists] will come to him, making music and singing praises of his virtues." It is only in reiterating the compact that the text speaks of being "reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, in the presence of the Bodhisattva-body of Maitreya, the Buddha-who-is-to-be, that form made splendid by the thirty-two major attributes, with its surrounding host of a million thousands of 'jade maidens.'"[53] It looks as if the first rendering of the promise recalled the terminology of an earlier age, when Tuṣita had as yet no universally-recognized Lord.

Any such offer as this, holding out an immediate security in Heaven in place of a remote golden age on earth, had of course to compete with the rival Paradise ruled over by Amitābha-Amitāyus. Signs of competition between the two are unmistakable in the text that sets out the new claims most elaborately: "the *Sūtra* of Meditation on Maitreya Bodhisattva's Rebirth on High in the Tuṣita Heaven," secured in the Central Asian city of Turfan, and translated in South China in 455 by the exiled Northern Liang Prince of Anyang.[54] There the wonders and the manifold pleasures of the Heaven are listed in loving detail. The Bodhisattva is assigned a glory that seems in no way inferior to a Buddha's. The godlings who hear Him preach reach instantly the ultimate stage of Enlightenment; the sins of countless ages are obliterated by the mere sight of the rays that stream from His *ūrṇā*. Lest anyone should fear that in choosing Tuṣita he might be giving up an even greater bliss in the future, the *sūtra* clearly states that all of Maitreya's followers in Heaven will descend with Him to Earth in His last incarnation, and will share in the ultimate bliss of His Buddha-hood.[55]

Two simple ways of insuring rebirth in Tuṣita are described. After Śākyamuni's Nirvāṇa any zealous follower who does good works, sweeps clean the floors of *stūpas*, makes offerings, reads and chants the scriptures, concentrates his thoughts on an image of the Buddha's form, and calls on Maitreya's name will at death, "as swiftly as a man stretching out his arm," ascend to Heaven and be reborn there, squatting on a lotus. To anyone in future ages, then, who has heard Maitreya's great name of mercy, who has set up an image, made offerings, and meditated on Tuṣita, an even more spectacular offer is made. On his death-bed Maitreya will emit a ray from His *ūrṇā* and go to welcome him in person, accompanied by a host of godlings raining flowers.[56]

[52] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 61c; Soothill's translation, p. 262, and Kern's, p. 436.

[53] *Daizōkyō*, IX, p. 133b, c.

[54] Nanjio's no. 204, the *Kuan Mi-lo P'u-sa Shang Sheng Tou-shuo T'ien Ching: Daizōkyō*, XIV, no. 452. For the translator, see above, Minor Northern Dynasties entry 11.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 420a.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 420a, b.

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The title of the *sūtra* places it among what I have called the *kuan* group (though in its case a translation of "meditation" rather than "visualization" seems preferable). It is not surprising, therefore, to find the text moving on to a familiar *kuan* clause:[57]

"After My Nirvāṇa any member of the four categories of believers, or god, or Nāga, or demon, who is desirous of being reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, must carry out this meditation, fixing his thoughts and reflecting. He must think of the Tuṣita Heaven and keep the Buddha's commandments for from one to seven days, bearing in mind the ten virtuous actions and the ten good paths,[58] and with this merit turn his prayers toward rebirth in the presence of Maitreya. He must carry out this meditation; and he who does so, if he sees but a single godling, or a single lotus blossom, or calls on Maitreya's name for the duration of but a single thought, that man will cancel out the sins accumulated during 1200 *kalpas* of reincarnation. Merely by hearing Maitreya's name and paying reference to it with clasped hands, he will cancel out the sins of fifty *kalpas*."

Actually, the *kuan* factor is touched on only lightly in the Tuṣita *sūtra*. No technique of visualization is offered; the goal of mystical seeing is described in a routine way; and the figure drawn for the reader of the Bodhisattva in glory is composed of conventional attributes.[59]. His immense body, golden in color and provided with the full complement of major and minor characteristics, sits cross-legged on a lotus throne. His *uṣṇīṣa* is the color of violet lapis lazuli. A perfunctory attempt is made to characterize His crown more specifically. It is decorated with a hundred thousand myriad millions of jewels; in it "there are a hundred myriad millions of rays, each ray containing innumerable hundreds of thousands of miraculously-created Buddhas and attendant Bodhisattvas. In addition various great Bodhisattvas from other regions carry out at will the eighteen magical transformations while They dwell within the crown . . ."[60]

Much of the *sūtra*'s emphasis is placed on multiplication miracles of this sort, which are common to all the *kuan* group: routine transformations of standard items like light rays, lotuses, jewelled daises, magically-created deities, palaces, trees, "jade maidens," etc., all numbered in millions of millions. The work as a whole seems of only secondary interest, perhaps because it was written at a late period in imitation of a variety of sources. The possibility also exists that it was composed at Turfan, where the Northern Liang prince obtained the manuscript that he translated; and so that it represents a provincial imitation, as well as a late one.

The fact that the original cult of Maitreya as the Buddhist Messiah was established in Northern India at least as early as the Kushan regime is attested by the widespread prevalence of His images in Afghanistan and Gandhāra and at Mathurā. He may be shown in the dress of a Bodhisattva at the end of the line of the Seven or Four Buddhas, or as a diminutive, throned figure at the center of a sculptured pedestal for a Buddha. Sometimes He is presented alone, as an image to be worshipped, at large scale. The key to His identification is given by the reliefs in which He is shown in the company of the Buddhas of the Past (and so can only be Maitreya). There the distinguishing features of His appearance are two: first, His long, curling hair is tied in a knot on the top of His head without any turban or crown; and second, His left hand holds a bottle.[61] Both of these attributes seem to have been borrowed from the type that somewhat earlier had been created for the god Brahmā; a not unreason-

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 420b.

[58] Defined in Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary*, p. 47.

[59] *Daizōkyō*, XIV, pp. 419c–420a.

[60] Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 2366, under "Jūhachi Hen" gives several varying lists of the "eighteen transformations."

[61] See Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, fig. 134, and II, fig. 457; and for Mathurā, Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, fig. 51 (the Four Buddhas with Maitreya) and fig. 50 (a fragment, apparently grouping Maitreya with the Seven Buddhas).

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able choice, since the two deities in different ways both represented the quintessence of Brahmanism.[62] The similarity makes it difficult to say in some cases whether Maitreya or Brahmā was intended. When the characteristic hairdress and bottle appear either on an isolated cult image[63] or as part of the pedestal of a larger Buddha figure[64] there can be no question, since neither situation would have been proper for the god. The chief source of perplexity is the triad type in which a Buddha is flanked by two deities, who could be either Brahmā and Indra or Maitreya and another Bodhisattva, probably Avalokiteścara.[65] One Gandhāran relief in the Peshawar Museum underlines the problem by showing both the pair of gods and the pair of Bodhisattvas as attendants for the same Buddha.[66] The gods are at slightly smaller scale, in the background, as their lesser importance makes fit. Brahmā (on the Buddha's proper right) and Maitreya (on His left) resemble each other closely; but the god looks more like a simple Brāhman youth, while the Bodhisattva wears princely jewels.

In the sculpture of Southeastern Afghanistan, Maitreya is further identified by a special seated posture (which thereafter is associated with Him all the way across Central Asia to China). The knees are widely separated, as in the traditional Buddha pose; but the lower legs, instead of being tightly folded against each other, are allowed to hang down on diagonal lines, crossing at the ankles. The feet are supported by a stool. I believe it no coincidence that a similar pose was assigned at the same period to seated representations of the Sasanian king; Afghanistan was probably a Persian march at the period when these sculptures were executed.[67]

One of the richest of the Maitreya reliefs, found in the monastery ruins at Shotorak, near Begram, may actually represent a view (greatly condensed and simplified, of course) of the golden age of the future.[68] There is an elaborate architectural frame, at the center of which, within a kind of trapezoidal niche, the Bodhisattva is represented in the act of preaching. Two half-sized niches on left and right contain miniature figures of gods or Bodhisattvas, shown in the attitude of thoughtful listening; they probably represent the blest in Maitreya's audience. Above each listener are the bust-length figures of two women, shown as if on a balcony, with offerings in their hands. If my identification of the subject is correct, these must have been intended to stand for a feature of the Paradise city referred to in one of Kumārajīva's translations;

"In the windows and doorways are ranged 'jewel maidens,' all bearing in their hands nets of gauze and pearls . . ."[69]

At either end of the panel, finally, is a large, standing guardian with a weapon. The two are dressed and armed differently, and I think were meant to be the humanized forms in which the giant Nāga king and the Yakṣa showed themselves, as defenders of Maitreya's citadel.

In addition to the evidence given by remaining sculpture south and north of the frontier about the popularity of Maitreya, we know from the accounts of early Chinese travellers that one of the important pilgrimage cults of the region centered on a colossal sandalwood statue of Him,

62 Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 202ff.

63 *Ibid.*, figs. 416, 418–424; Marshall, *Taxila*, pls. 186g, 223, 224; Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pls. 146, 147. Vogel, *Mathura*, pl. XXXVb, shows what looks like an independent Mathuran solution of the problem of identification: the figure is given the close-cropped, spiralling curls of a Buddha.

64 E. g., Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, pl. 143; Meunié, *Shotorak*, figs. 42, 61. The correspondingly placed Bodhisattvas in the Mathurā school wear turbans, and so are less surely identifiable (e. g. Bachhofer, pl. 84).

65 E. g., Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 405–407; Meunié, *op. cit.*, fig. 72.

66 Van Loohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, fig. 25.

67 See A. U. Pope, editor, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London and New York, 1938, pls. 157A (relief of Bahrām II holding court), 203, 239 (dishes).

68 Meunié, *op. cit.*, fig. 48.

69 *Daizōkyō*, XIV, p. 429b. Meunié's fig. 50 looks like a careless or misunderstood variant on the same theme. The ladies hold garlands; but the giants, instead of bearing arms, lounge gracefully under trees.

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erected in the little mountain principality of Darel, up-river from Gandhāra. I shall discuss the various Chinese accounts of this figure in detail in the Appendix.[70] Here it may be noticed that the three earliest notices, dated around A.D. 400, agree that its height was eighty (Chin) feet, or about sixty English feet. The description by the monk Fa-sheng, preserved in the Japanese *Meisō-den-sho*, dates its carving in "the 480th year after the Buddha's entry into Nirvāṇa." Calculated with reference to what we now consider the year of the Buddha's death, 483 B.C., this would produce a date much too early for modern theories about the development of the Gandhāran style. We know, however, that the chronology of early Buddhism used in the North erred on the side of shortness, particularly in compressing the interval between the Nirvāṇa and King Aśoka into a century when it should have covered around 250 years. Northern tradition held that the next great royal patron of Buddhism, Kaniṣka, had ruled 400 years after the Nirvāṇa.[71] If we date the Darel image by this last figure, assuming that what was really remembered was that the colossus had been made eighty years after Kaniṣka, we arrive at a period in the early third century, which suits the other evidence perfectly.[72]

In this geographical connection, it may be noted that the Chinese monks' biographies in several instances name Kashmir as the country in which Maitreya was particularly accessible to human worshippers by the route of mystic ecstasy. The famous missionary and translator Buddhabhadra is said to have visited Tuṣita in a trance while he was studying in Kashmir, some time around A.D. 400; and a similar story is told about a Kashmir master of meditation, one "T'a-mo" or Dharma, a generation or two later.[73] Kashmir training, finally, seems the proper explanation for a third such vision. The most accomplished of the Chinese practitioners of meditation, the ex-Kansu pilgrim Chih-yen (who first studied in Kashmir for several years at the same time as Buddhabhadra) is said to have returned to India at the end of his life because he was deeply troubled by the memory of a youthful sin. None of the churchmen whom he consulted there could tell him whether he was still being charged with the lapse or not; so finally "he entered a trance and visited Tuṣita to inquire of Maitreya, who said in answer: 'You have kept the commandments.' Overjoyed, he went on foot back to Kashmir, and there without falling ill, passed away."[74]

I must compress what I wish to say about the extension of the Maitreya cult into Central Asia into two or three brief statements. It is not surprising that an area that lay midway between the center of the Kushan realm and China, along the natural routes of communication, should have shared its great neighbors' enthusiasm for the Savior-to-come. Among many signs of Maitreya's popularity, found even in the Hīnayāna sites along the northern Tarim highway, some belong clearly to a further stage of iconographic development than anything we have yet seen.

An "early" cupola painting at Kyzil, for example, laid out on a circle-inside-a-square scheme and richly decorated with celestial figures, had at each of its four corners (where in the West there would have been a squinch or pendentive) the seated figure of a major deity. Three of these, presumably Buddhas, have been lost. The remaining fourth seems to be a Maitreya, seated in the crossed-ankle pose (though now wearing an imposing crown, as we find Him in the Tuṣita *sūtra*). The geometrical layout of the group

[70] See below, pp. 268ff.

[71] Przyluski, *Açoka*, p. 174.

[72] Van Loohuizen's dating of Mathuran images with presumed Maitreyas in the pedestal, circa 130–180, is based on her choice of A. D. 78 for the start of the Kaniṣka era (pp. 62–65). In the alternative system that I prefer, the initial date is some 50 years later; see my "The Roman Style in Gandhāra," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55, 4, 1951, note 36.

[73] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 334c, 399a (from *Kao SC*, i and xi).

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 339b, c (from iii).

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shows that it must have been intended as a spatial diagram, presenting the four quarters of space divided between four representatives of Buddhist divinity.[75] It is the idea that in the T'ang dynasty would have been elaborated into a cluster of four Paradises, and that in the Northern Wei sculpture of Yün-kang was accomodated to the four outward-facing niches of a cave shaft.[76] Among our Chinese inscriptions we have met the theme once in a dedication of 556, when the four directional images of Akṣobhya, Amitāyus, Śākyamuni, and Maitreya were set up.[77] These names are perhaps our best evidence for the identity of the lost corner Buddhas at Kyzil.

The other noteworthy innovation at Kyzil is a balancing of the Buddha-to-be against the "historic" Buddha, on a nearly equal basis. Inside the squarish cella of the cave shrine, the main image in its niche (on the axis leading from the door) will remain a Śākyamuni. The next area in importance, the large lunette over the entrance doorway, is assigned to a throned Maitreya. Among the "early" caves – not precisely datable, but corresponding probably to the latter part of the Six Dynasties era in China – this balance occurs in the so-called "Höhle mit der Äffin"; in the shrines of the later period, after about A.D. 600, it becomes the standard procedure.[78] The same idea of pairing is carried out less clearly, or in more archaic fashion, in the Chinese caves of Tun-huang and Yün-kang.[79]

Although there is no lack of evidence that Maitreya was worshipped in South China, the weight of the Chinese evidence hints that His cult had its steadiest support in the North throughout the Six Dynasties period. The earliest famous devotee, Tao-an, who with his disciples "prayed before Maitreya that they might be reborn in Tuṣita," began and ended his career in the North, and never went farther south than Hsiang-yang in Hupeh.[80] An anecdote about one of his disciples, indeed, suggests that he maintained the cult at Hsiang-yang by his personal influence, in the face of a general devotion to Amitāyus. It is said that T'an-chiai in his last illness called unceasingly on the name of Maitreya Buddha. A younger monk, Chih-sheng, who was taking care of him, asked why he was not praying to be reborn in "An-yang" (i.e. Sukhāvati). Chiai replied:

"The abbot and I and some others, eight of us in all, prayed together to be reborn in Tuṣita. The abbot and Tao-yüan and the rest have already been reborn [there]. I have not been able to depart, and that is why I pray as I do."

"When he had finished speaking, a radiance shone upon his body, and his look became joyful; and then suddenly he passed away, being in his seventieth year."[81]

All the Maitreya texts were translated in the North: Dharmarakṣa's at Lo-yang (which was, to be sure, the capital of a still-united China at the time); Kumarajīva's and Dharmanandi's at Ch'ang-an, under a semi-barbarian rule. The Tuṣita *sūtra* was obtained at Turfan, and its translator and great advocate, the semi-barbarian Northern Liang prince, took it to the South as an exile only after his own country had been swallowed up by the Toba kingdom.

[75] See my "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia," *Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 4, 1947, p. 234, fig. 8; Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, pp. 87ff., and *Alt Kutscha*, II, p. 4, the "Pfauenhöhle."

[76] E. g. in Cave 6: *Yün-kang*, III, pls. 141–145 (showing a cross-ankled Bodhisattva figure with a miniature squatting Buddha in its crown, on the east face of the lower storey. The corresponding figures in the other quadrants are: a squatting Buddha [much restored] on the south: a pair of squatting Buddhas on the north; and a Buddha seated with legs down, on the west).

[77] See above, p. 131.

[78] Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, p. 101, and *Alt-Kutscha*, II, p. 19b.

[79] At Tun-huang, the cross-ankled Maitreya will dominate one end of a pseudo-forehall oriented at right angles to the cella, apparently facing a squatting Buddha on the opposite wall. At Yün-kang Śākyamuni and Maitreya may preside over adjacent, closely similar caves, like 1 and 2, or 7 and 8.

[80] See above, p. 15.

[81] From *Kao SC*, v: *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 356b, c. Another edifying death of a Tao-an disciple who prayed for rebirth in Tuṣita was that of Tao-fu: *ibid.*, p. 355b.

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Mañjuśrī:

Mañjuśrī must have been one of the first Bodhisattvas to appear in early Mahāyāna; He already takes a leading role in several *sūtras* translated during the latter half of the second century, and His name is very widely used thereafter.[82] He is first of all a seeker after supreme wisdom; hence He appears often as the leading Mahāyāna questioner in Śākyamuni's audiences, for example at the beginning of the "Lotus *Sūtra*." As Mahāyāna interest in the doctrine of wisdom, Prajñāpāramitā, became a major philosophical enterprise, He was made its chief protagonist, or representative, or codifier. All of this guaranteed Him a secure status as "the Bodhisattva of Wisdom," but probably prevented Him from becoming a cult figure of the stature of Avalokiteśvara or Maitreya. His adherents must have been primarily the more intellectual churchmen; in the early centuries fearful or suffering humanity turned to other rescuers. That Mañjuśrī played little part in the popular imagination is shown by the fact that for a long time no simple, consistent, familiar set of stories was developed about His name. The details given of His career in the early books are contradictory. In some He is said to have been born a Brāhman, near Śrāvastī, and to have worked to codify the Buddhist scriptures after the Nirvāṇa. Other accounts make Him a "foreign Bodhisattva," originating in some immensely distant Buddha-land. Now it is said that He has been a Buddha already, in the immensely distant past (an odd reversal of the usual sequence of events); elsewhere He is shown in a role like Amitābha's, making a series of great vows to guarantee that He will one day have a Paradise of His own, as a Buddha. As usual He is occasionally signalled out as the hero of heroes; we are informed that all the Buddhas of the Past have been His pupils, and those to come in the future will owe Their advancement to His power and goodness.

All of these claims are the familiar byproducts of Mahāyāna enthusiasm; what probably tells most about Mañjuśrī's origins is the fact that He is continually referred to as a boy or a youngster, rather than receiving merely the conventional title "Bodhisattva Mahāsattva." The early books, so far as I know, do not elaborate on His youthfulness, or describe His appearance; but the idea was so strongly implanted that it survived throughout the whole course of His cult. I think it possible, therefore, that His personality was composed around one of the familiar figures of world folklore, the Wise Child (with the idea of making His mental powers seem more mysterious and impressive by contrasting them with His appearance).[83] He holds permanently the role that Jesus and Śākyamuni played brilliantly as small boys, astonishing Their teachers and bewildering the wise men with whom They argued. In one sense Manjuśrī's most popular early "part," that of the champion of Mahāyāna orthodoxy against the subtle questions of the aged Vimalakīrti, is a duel between fresh youth and elderly experience: a folklore pattern again, of the sort that is most familiar to us in the story of Christ before the doctors.

The grouping together of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, an idea whose great popularity under the T'ang is forshadowed in one of our Northern Chou inscriptions,[84] must go back to some relatively early authority that I have not as yet identified. The two are mentioned together in isolation, as though They were a well-known pair, in the "*Sūtra* on the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy Attained by Visualizing the Buddha."[85] The best-

[82] See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 4875 ff., under "Monjushiri Bosatsu."

[83] Compare H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, New York, 1946, pp. 4–11, 22, where a traditional story is re-told casting Viṣṇu in the role of the "wonderful boy" and Śiva in that of the "old wise man." Also the Jātakas stressing the unique wisdom of a seven-year old boy: H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas, *Jataka Tales*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1916, pp. 198 ff., 459.

[84] See above, p. 130.

[85] *Daizōkyō*, XV, p. 666a.

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known statement of a close relationship between the two Bodhisattvas is made in the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* (the first translation of which was done by Buddhabhadra and others at the end of the Eastern Chin), in connection with the curious story of the pilgrimage of the child Sudhana.[86] This small boy — perhaps a separate personification, as it were, of Mañjuśrī's own precocity, for he is already far advanced in spiritual progress — is persuaded by the Bodhisattva to undertake a pilgrimage in search of the truth. After a long journey, endlessly elaborated by miracles, and punctuated by visits to a long series of the Elect — monks and kings, Brahmans and hermits, nuns and princesses, deities, Bodhisattvas, even the mother of Śākyamuni — he comes at the last to Samantabhadra, and under His influence enters the highest ecstasy. Toward this final goal Mañjuśrī furnishes not only the initial advice, but also, at the last, the encouragement required to enter Samantabhadra's sacred precinct.

As to the public worship of Mañjuśrī in India, we possess one precious piece of testimony in the pilgrimage record of Fa-hsien. Around A.D. 400 he found that at the religious center of Mathurā, where sectarian offerings were made in a wide variety of ways, "the Mahāyāna men worshipped the Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjuśrī, and Avalokiteśvara."[87]

The Chinese paid full attention to Mañjuśrī only after the happy discovery was made in the T'ang dynasty that His residence on earth was Mount Wu-t'ai, in Shansi. In the Six Dynasties He was probably known best as the divine protagonist in the very popular Vimalakīrti *sūtra*.[88] His "part" there was not a particularly sympathetic one, since He was required merely to argue a metaphysical case of great difficulty. The very fact of His participation in the debate made Him something of a hero, however, since the *sūtra* makes it clear that all the other candidates selected by Śākyamuni — the ten greatest disciples, two other Bodhisattvas, and two laymen — had declined in turn, through fear of their opponent's forensic genius. It was of course Vimalakīrti himself, the old, immensely honored and experienced householder and man of affairs, who was the true hero of the story, particularly to a Chinese audience of the Six Dynasties period. The Chinese readers of the Buddhist scriptures, churchmen and lay scholars alike, must often have been disturbed or bewildered or even outraged by what they found. Against such painful experiences the figure of Vimalakīrti — so reasonable and urbane, so much the scholar-gentleman — provided the perfect antidote; he was almost Confucius in Buddhist dress. We can gain some idea of the degree to which the *sūtra* pervaded the intellectual life of the Six Dynasties Church (in the South, at least) from the fact that it is mentioned twenty-eight times in the *Kao Seng Chuan;* only half as often as the "Lotus," to be sure, but a great deal more than almost any other competitor. References to it of every description, from the simplest to the most circumstantial, may be found in the remaining sculpture of the time.[89] From all of this Mañjuśrī won at least a reflected lustre; and doubtless He was much more often represented as a part of the meeting with Vimalakīrti than any other way.

Samantabhadra:

The fact that Samantabhadra should have been one of the earliest Bodhisattvas to be signalled out for special worship in China is at least partially explained by the glowing description given of Him in the "Lotus *Sūtra*." His special chapter,

[86] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 688a. For further details of this pilgrimage see my "Four Columns from a Chinese Temple," *Honolulu Academy of Arts Special Studies*, I, 1947, p. 8.

[87] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 859b; Beal's translation, I, p. xxix.

[88] Two extant translations. The earlier, by the third century "Chih-ch'ien," is Nanjio's no. 147, the *Wei-mo-chieh Ching: Daizōkyō*, XIV, no. 474. The second, by Kumārajīva, is Nanjio's no. 146, the *Wei-mo-chieh So Shuo Ching: ibid.*, no. 475. The latter has been Englished by "Hokei Idumi" (i. e. Idzumi) in *Eastern Buddhist*, II, 6, 1923, III, 1–4, and IV, 1–3, 1924–28.

[89] Davidson, *Lotus Sūtra*, pp. 32ff.

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one of the seven at the end of the book that are generally called an appendix, is full of skilfully calculated appeals.[90] He sweeps into Śākyamuni's presence with the pomp and magnificence of a celestial *mahārāja*. He is named the special protector of all those — monks, nuns, and lay believers alike — who follow the precepts of the "Lotus," against every sort of snare or danger. And the reward that he offers for their fidelity is not merely a temporary rescue, but rebirth in Paradise.

We can be sure, of course, that the Chinese knew of these promises at least by the end of the third century, from their presence in Dharmarakṣa's version of the "Lotus," the *Cheng Fa Hua Ching*. The text of this is substantially similar to that used by Kumārajīva later (and rendered into English by Soothill), and also to the Sanskrit version used in the *Sacred Books of the East* series. One difference catches the eye. Whereas both the later works agree that the Bodhisattva has promised to reveal Himself to the faithful mounted "on a white elephant with six tusks, with My host of great Bodhisattvas," this detail is lacking in the wording adopted by Dharmarakṣa. There the promise is quoted three times, in varying language. In the second quotation Samantabhadra says merely: "I will be driven [or will ride?] to visit the devotee." In the third He indicates that He will show Himself in all the towering majesty of His virtue, "mounted on a steed with six *t'ung* [i.e. supernatural faculties]." In the first quotation, to be sure, the reading favored by the Japanese editors of the Taishō Tripiṭaka begins with the character for elephant, and runs thereafter (in a literal translation) "elephant horse carriage ride go to visit his place."[91] There is, however, an alternative for the first character in three of the official Chinese editions of the Tripiṭaka, *shang* for "mount" instead of *hsiang* for "elephant." From the standpoint of sense, this seems to me preferable, since it may be rendered "riding in a horse-drawn chariot I shall go to visit . . ." Presumably, therefore, the attribute of the elephant was added to Samantabhadra's cult in the West at some time during the fourth century (or at least grew up in a different center from the one represented by Dharmarakṣa's original manuscript).

As we have seen in the section on Maitreya, the same "Lotus" chapter on Samantabhadra goes on to promise that the devotee of the *sūtra* will be safely reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven.

The "Lotus" teaching is expanded and given a new direction in a short Mahāyāna tract of the *kuan* type devoted exclusively to Samantabhadra. This "*Sūtra* on the Practise of Visualizing the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra" was translated at the outset of Sung by the newly-arrived missionary Dharmamitra, from Kashmir, and formed the subject of a lecture delivered at the Sung court in 424 by the same man.[92] The purpose of the *sūtra* is to exhort Mahāyāna devotees to practise a special form of penitence for the sins of the body and mind, for which they are offered the personal teaching and encouragement of the Bodhisattva. Part of their reward is of course the routine absolution and remission of punishment, which no Buddhist text could forget. A much greater emphasis, however, is placed on a different boon. As the shadow of sinful thoughts lifts from around the devotee, he will be able to see in ecstasy, with ever-increasing clarity and completeness, the whole host of divine beings. He will see his glorious Tutor on the white elephant; and the Buddha, golden and majestic, who presides over Samantabhadra's birthplace in the east; and the other eastern Buddhas; and those of the other directions, until the Ten Quarters are filled. He will see the Buddhas of the Past, first the Seven and then a countless host. Last of all he will be able to contemplate Śākyamuni

[90] *Daizōkyō*, IX, pp. 61ff. and 132ff.; Soothill's translation, pp. 260ff., and Kern's, pp. 431ff.

[91] Compare *Daizōkyō*, pp. 61a, b, and 133a.

[92] Nanjio's no. 394, the *Kuan P'u-hsien P'u-sa Hsing-fa Ching*; *Daizōkyō*, IX, no. 277. On Dharmamitra's lecture, see *ibid.*, L, p. 343a.

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Himself, preaching on the Vulture Peak, and will see reenacted before "the eyes of his heart" the central miracle of the "Lotus": the emergence of Prabhūtaratna's stupa from the ground, and the recall of Prabhūtaratna Buddha in person from Nirvāṇa to sit like a relic within it. All these great beings, meanwhile, will have witnessed and applauded the monk's progress. The Buddhas of the Ten Quarters will pat his head, and Prabhūtaratna will break the silence of ages to speak in a loud voice, praising him.[93]

By insisting that the supreme religious experience is to *see*, face to face — and not in Paradise, but here and now — the Samantabhadra tract closely parallels the *kuan* sūtras on Amitāyus and on "the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy."[94] The three are also similar in several of their most characteristic features. All emphasize the gradualness of the revelation, the necessary, disciplined progression from one to many. All make the emission of light the most conspicuous attribute of the deities they describe: blinding rays that pour from *ūrṇā* or from all the hair-sockets of the body to traverse and illumine the farthest reaches of space. All deal with the same sort of miracles, begotten by a pedantic fancy upon the multiplication table. In the Samantabhadra *sūtra* this interest, or obsession, centers on a description of the Bodhisattva's "vehicle," the great white elephant.[95] The creature is colossal, "450 *yojanas* long and 400 high," and is whiter than the snows of the Himalāyas. At the ends of his six tusks are six bathing tanks, in each of which grow fourteen lotuses. On each open blossom is a "jade maiden" fairer than the damsels of Paradise, in whose hands are five spontaneously-created lutes; each lute is accompanied by 500 other musical instruments, and 500 jewel-colored birds. Though the elephant moves at a distance of seven feet above ground, it still leaves footprints in the earth. Each print shows a thousand-spoked wheel, and from each wheel grows a great lotus, and on the lotus is a phantom elephant that follows the Bodhisattva's steed. With each raising and lowering of its feet are created 7000 other elephants to follow as companions. The elephant's trunk is the color of a red lotus, and has on it a phantom Buddha, emitting a golden light from His *ūrṇā*. The said light goes successively in and out of the trunk, eyes, and ears of the elephant, rises to the top of its head, and then moves to its back, where it is transformed into a golden saddle, fitted out with jewels. On the four sides of the saddle are set jewelled pillars, to make a dais; and on the dais is a jewelled lotus, on which a Samantabhadra sits cross-legged, with a body the color of white jade, a halo about His head of fifty colors, and a golden radiance streaming from all the hair-sockets of His body. At the tips of the golden rays are countless phantom Buddhas, with Bodhisattvas in Their trains . . . (etc.).

The origins of the Samantabhadra cult in the West are shrouded in the usual obscurity. None of the Chinese pilgrims mentions Him, and in the great centers of Buddhist art He is represented by no known images. Lack of information is not quite total, however. We know that it was a missionary from Kashmir who translated and lectured on His *sūtra*. The links with the "Sea" *sūtra* point toward Hadda in Afghanistan, if my hypothesis about the origin of that work is correct.[96] Fortunately another piece of evidence permits the same conclusion. Kumārajīva's translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* commentary, the *Ta Chih-tu Lun*, ix, contains two noteworthy anecdotes.[97] One is merely an illustration of the benign guardianship promised in the "Lotus"; we are told of a monk who read that *sūtra* in a cave, to whom Samantabhadra came in a vision in the guise of a golden, radiant figure, riding a white elephant.

[93] *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 390b–392a.
[94] See above, pp. 144.
[95] *Daizōkyō*, IX, pp. 389c–390a.
[96] In the "Sea" *sūtra*, Samantabhadra is named twice casually, as if he were a well known figure: *ibid.*, XV, pp. 666a, 687b.
[97] *Ibid.*, XXV, pp. 127a, 126c.

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The other tells of a sick man who went into a *stūpa* and prayed to be healed beside an image of "Pien-chi P'u-sa" — a note identifies this as Samantabhadra. All at once the jewel in the statue's right hand glowed, and with that hand it stroked his body, and his illness left him. By good fortune this miracle is ascribed to a specific place, "that land west of the Great Yüeh-chih [i. e. the Kushan realm] where the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha is kept"[98] — i. e. Nagarahāra, or the modern Hadda.

It should be mentioned, finally, that the French finds of sculpture at the Shotorak monastery near Begram — the ancient Kāpiśa, the summer capital of the Kushan rulers — some 150 kilometers northwest of Hadda, include what may be a stone figure of Samantabhadra; seated in the pose of deep thought on the crudely rendered head and shoulders of an elephant. The style is a provincial version of the late Gandhāran manner, perhaps of the fourth or fifth centuries.[99] The French report, declining to call the figure an Indra (as the elephant might suggest) because of the lack of that god's distinctive cylindrical crown, names it merely an unidentified Bodhisattva.

The "*Sūtra* on the Practise of Visualizing the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra" is on the whole a devotional work rather than a philosophical one. It includes, however, one pregnant sentence that links it with one of the supreme metaphysical achievements of Mahāyāna, the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*. At one point in its long sequence of wonders, a voice speaks from the sky, proclaiming:

"Śākyamuni is named Vairocana everywhere and in all places."[100]

The *Avataṁsaka*, proclaiming the ineffable splendor and power of the single supreme Buddha, Vairocana, very often speaks through the voice of Samantabhadra. Not only is He one of the foremost figures at the great assemblies where Vairocana preaches; but as we have seen in the previous section, He is the goal of the strange, step-by-step pilgrimage of the child Sudhana, with which the enormously long book comes to an end. The final vision, in which the boy's studiously acquired powers at last permit him to see the Bodhisattva, is described in a way that is both richer and more suggestive than in the *kuan sūtras* — probably because it is less bound to ordinary visual experience.[101] Sudhana penetrates to the Dharmakāya, the absolute, spiritual body of Samantabhadra, and finds there a being who seems hardly distinguishable from Vairocana Himself.

"Then did Sudhana see among the major and minor attributes of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, among His limbs and joints and hair-sockets, the indescribable, indescribable World-seas, filled to the brim with Buddhas, each Tathāgata being accompanied by an indescribable, indescribable host of great Bodhisattvas. Those Tathāgata Realm-seas that he saw, one by one, were not the same in their attendant circumstances, and differed in appearance. The adamantine mountains ringing them in, the great clouds that overhung them, the peoples raised by the Buddhas, and the Wheels of the Law that were turned: such things were wholly and totally different from each other. Also he saw Samantabhadra Bodhisattva sending out into the lands of the Ten Quarters phantom bodies of Tathāgatas, for all of the World-atoms, to teach and convert all beings and lead them to develop fully and perfectly elightened hearts."[102]

(We find here applied to Samantabhadra the theme of the universe seen within a single, enormous, space-filling, divine body; an idea often returned to by Indian thinkers, both inside and outside Buddhism.)

Almost all the Chinese evidence for interest in Samantabhadra dates between the 420's and

[98] The description suggests that for the writer Nagarahāra lay outside the Kushan realm, presumably as a result of the Sasanian push that began in the mid third century.

[99] Meunié, *Shotorak*, pl. XXV, fig. 75, no. 129, and pp. 54–55.

[100] *Daizōkyō*, IX, p. 392c.

[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 784a–785c.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 785c.

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470's. Since the "Lotus" had been known in the South for more than a century earlier, it seems likely that this brief spurt of enthusiasm was due to the translations made in the early fifth century of the two other key texts, the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* and the *kuan* tract on Samantabhadra. Beyond the incidents already mentioned that have to do with Samantabhadra images, two anecdotes are worth a brief mention. A brief section on Samantabhadra miracles in *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xvii, tells of a priest named P'u-ming (who died in his eighty-fifth year in the 450's) "whose specialty was penitential chanting. He used to recite the 'Lotus' and the 'Vimalakīrti' *sūtras*. Whenever he did so, he would put on special clothes and use a special seat, so that there was never any dirt or untidiness. Every time he reached [the Samantabhadra chapter] he would suddenly see that Bodhisattva before him, mounted on an elephant. When he recited the 'Vimalakīrti' *sūtra*, again, he would hear chanting and music in the air."[103]

The other account concerns a priest Tao-ching, who in 425 and 426 held two public maigre feasts at Lo-yang in honor of Samantabhadra. At both strange visitors appeared and disappeared, first a horseman and then two unknown monks (proving thereby that the occasions were under supernatural surveillance). The detailed story here is again furnished by *Fa Yüan Chu Lin*, xvii. The biography of the same priest in *Kao Seng Chuan*, xii, is equally informative, but in a different way that seems to indicate one reason why Samantabhadra's popularity was limited.[104] Tao-ching had other supernatural experiences of a more exciting sort. Once he and some companions penetrated deeply into a mountain cave. While trying to cross an underground stream, the three others were drowned, and all the lights were extinguished. Ching saw no hope of rescue, so he simply went on reciting the "Lotus" and kept his mind fixed on Avalokiteśvara. "In a little while he saw a light like a will-of-the-wisp, which he followed but could not catch, and which led him to the exit." Later he was saved by the same means from drowning, when the ice on which he was crossing a river broke.

There is no such accumulation of stories about the intervention of Samantabhadra into everyday lives as we possess in the case of Avalokiteśvara. His promises of aid can never have met anything like the same wide audience: they were to begin with addressed largely to monks, and to the intellectually strenuous, rather than to suffering humanity. We see in the anecdote about Tao-ching that the very priest who specialized in building up a lay cult of Samantabhadra would in an emergency turn away to the rescuer Avalokiteśvara.

It may be added that the Japanese archaeologists who worked at Yün-kang have identified as Samantabhadra – though without unmistakable proofs – the figure riding on an elephant who is found among the niches added above the entrance to Cave XIII, and on the south wall of Cave XIII A: i.e. in the latest work done at the site, after the transfer of the capital.[105]

The "Contemplative Figure":

One sense, at least, in which the title "Contemplative Figure" or "Contemplative Prince" was used, is identified for us by its earliest dated appearance. A Northern Wei stele of 492, referring to "an image of the Contemplative Prince," shows the parting between the young Siddartha and his horse and groom. The future Buddha is posed in a unique way, with one leg down and the other lying horizontally across it, elbow on knee and chin on hand. The same iconographic type is found at Yün-kang in two other scenes from Śākyamuni's early life: one identified by an overshadowing tree as His first meditation in the garden, and the other placing Him among His

103 *Ibid.*, LIII, p. 409a.
104 *Ibid.*, pp. 408c–409a; and L, p. 407a.

105 *Yün-kang*, VIII, pp. 12 and 82; X, pp. 48, 101, and pl. 17b.

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sleeping women.[106] Both of these might presumably have been given the same title; and so we may imagine that some general reference to Śākyamuni in His character as Bodhisattva was intended on the later stelae that speak of "an image of the prince" or a "contemplative image."[107]

On the other hand, exactly the same pensive pose is often seen at Yün-kang in the seated Bodhisattva figures that flank the cross-ankled Maitreya: e.g. among the frieze compositions that fill the side anteroom walls in Caves IX, X, and XII.[108] It was certainly this second sense that was meant in the Eastern Wei stele of 544 whose inscription speaks of "one Buddha, two Bodhisattvas, two princes," etc.[109] This Yün-kang three-part scheme is foreshadowed in the Shotorak relief that I have called a formalized representation of Maitreya's Paradise. There the attendants are presumably the blest, in Bodhisattva guise, pondering on the sublime truths uttered by the future Buddha.[110] Elsewhere in Gandhāran sculpture the same sort of figures will flank a preaching Buddha (who may of course have been intended as Maitreya in His final form), or will sit alone in thought.[111] In these northwest frontier versions the position of the legs is not very distinctive. Both legs are pendant, though one is at a slightly higher level than the other; and so the effect is not markedly different from that of the Iranian cross-ankled pose assigned to Maitreya. It recalls, at the same time, two formulae from the Mediterranean world, which may testify to its ultimate origin. The upper part of the seated figure, complemented by legs in a more normal position, could pass as a pensive companion of Mithra on a Greco-Roman stele.[112] Crossed legs and Persian dress on a standing figure help to identify the sorrowing Attis.[113] The Chinese, in working out a variant of their own — presumably for aesthetic reasons — seem to have taken their strongly assymmetrical legs from yet another source, the informal seated pose of the Indian king or god.

[106] Mizuno in *Ars Buddhica*, XXI, no. 12, pp. 19–20; also in *Yün-kang*, VIII, pp. 12, 82.

[107] Ōmura, pp. 317, 318, 349, dated 553, 554, and 573 respectively.

[108] *Yün-kang*, VI, pl. 16; VII, pl. 8; and IX, pl. 9.

[109] Ōmura, pp. 264–265.

[110] See note 68 above.

[111] Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, figs. 76, 77, and II, fig. 408; figs. 409, 410, 428.

[112] See my "Aspects of Light Symbolism," XII, 3, p. 261, fig. 2 (Mithraic stele from the old Villa Altieri, Rome).

[113] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, Paris, 1912, pp. 54, 66.

MINOR BEINGS

Ānanda:

The most widely-known disciple of Śākyamuni, named very frequently in the Hīnayāna literature as the Buddha's favorite personal attendant, and retained in Mahāyāna as the instrument by which His preaching was codified and published. In Chinese Buddhist art usually paired with the disciple who was his opposite in almost every way, Mahā Kāśyapa. In India, to judge from numerous passages in Hīnayāna books, the two represented antagonistic factions that revealed themselves clearly at the "First Council," Ānanda standing for the Kṣatriya caste, for an emphasis on *gnosis*, and for youthful enthusiasm; while the other epitomized Brāhmanism, the ascetic discipline, and a ripe old age.[1] Ānanda's cult seems to have flourished for cen-

[1] See Przyluski, *Le concile de Rājagrha*, Paris, 1926–1928, where this opposition is traced through numerous varying scriptural accounts.

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turies, and to have done what it could (though without success) to elevate him to a position like St. Peter's in the Christian world.[2] The Chinese were probably quite indifferent to such far-away quarrels, and picked the two because they had been told they were the first (Mahā Kāśyapa) and second patriarchs of the Church. Their appearance in Chinese art, traceable to the first years of the sixth century, when they begin to stand alongside the flanking Bodhisattvas as attendants on the Buddha, probably signifies the passing of the period of fiercest sectarian jealousy between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

Arhat:

A being who has attained Enlightenment. The term stands in Hīnayāna for the highest spiritual achievement; in Mahāyāna it comes to have the pejorative sense of a success attained for purely selfish reasons.

Brahmā:

In pagan mythology the supreme Creator and lord of the highest Heaven; appropriated by the Buddhists and paired with (his theoretical inferior) Indra or Śākra, to emphasize the submission of the whole Universe to the Buddha. His spectacular descents to beg Śākyamuni to preach, or to applaud His sermons, are a cliché in both the Hīnayāna and the simpler Mahāyāna books. In the final reaches of the Mahāyāna imagination he is, like everything else, pluralized; there are countless millions of Brahmā gods and Heavens.

Devarāja:

In Chinese Shen Wang: a generic term, used to identify loosely a class of demigods who have vowed to protect Buddhism and Buddhists. See also Kapila Devarāja.

Eight Classes of Beings:

I.e. the categories of: Deva, the gods; Nāga, the snake deities; Yakṣa, the tutelary deities of the Earth; Gandharva, the celestial musicians; Asura, the Titans; Garuḍa, the monster birds; Kinnara, another kind of divine musicians, originally akin to the centaur and later imagined as half human, half bird; and Mahōraga, the deified terrestrial reptiles. Familiar chiefly through their mention at the beginning of the more elaborate Mahāyāna *sūtras*, as members of the universal audiences who listened to Śākyamuni's preaching. When the growing complication of Buddhist iconography made it necessary to exploit all possible means of identification, they came to be used as a way of distinguishing the figure of Śākyamuni from those of other Buddhas. Thus they appear, for example, in two Śākyamuni frescoes of the earlier eighth century at Tunhuang, in Caves 104 and 139 (Pelliot's numbering).[3]

Hārītī:

A female divinity, at once the destroyer and the protector of children, whose cult seems to have originated in the northwest frontier region, and presumably at the popular level, so that she is not named in the traditional Brāhmanical literature.[4] An often-repeated Buddhist legend tells that she was originally an ogress, with a brood of 500 demon sons, who lived lavishly on the flesh of small children. The Buddha eventually tamed her by kidnapping her own baby, Piṅgala, and refusing to return him until she promised faithfully to change her mode of life and become a guardian.

[2] The preface to the *Ekottarāgama* in its Chinese translation is chiefly a panegyric in honor of Ānanda as the sole qualified heir to Śākyamuni. Mahā Kāśyapa begs him to accept the responsibility, speaking against himself as being old, infirm, and forgetful. His entreaty is supplemented by the pleading of Brahmā, Indra, the Four Lokapālas, and Maitreya, all of whom clasp their hands in supplication (*Daizōkyō*, II, pp. 549b–552b).

[3] Pelliot, *Touen-houang*, pls. CLXXXVII, CCCI.

[4] Foucher, *Gandhāra*, II, pp. 130ff.; "la fée aux enfants."

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Hsüan-tsang mentions this story in connection with a site near the modern Peshawar, where in his day "the common folk of the land worshipped her when they sought descendants."[5] Her remaining Gandhāran representations in stone, more numerous than anywhere else, show her in this guise, as a personification of fecundity, with infants in her arms or playing about her body. Often she is accompanied by her divine husband Pāñcika, as the personification of wealth and worldly success. The two may be seen with their brood among the Ajanta frescoes, and as far afield as Java; the Chinese pilgrim I-ching, who travelled to India by sea between 671 and 685, mentions their very frequent presence in the refectories or porches of the monasteries he visited.[6] (The Hārītī legend tells that Śākyamuni arranged to compensate the ogress for her lost food supply by ordering His monks to set aside a pittance in her name from their own daily diet. As Foucher has pointed out, the detail looks like a naive justification for the presence of so worldly a cult within the monastery precincts.)

The Chinese records suggest that the cult of the goddess arrived early (see Sung entry 17), but remained on the whole at the popular level (for which normally no records were kept).[7] *Fa Yüan Chu Lin* includes among its tales of supernatural interventions an account of a certain Chang Ying, whose wife was plagued by ill health. After addressing himself in vain to "the deities of the crowd" he turned in 333 to "the Mother of the Demon Children," and thereby secured her full recovery.[8] Like the story told in my Sung entry 17, this indicates that Hārītī became in China a general protectress of women, as well as of children. A passage from the "Record of Annual Occasions in Ching and Ch'u" by the Liang author Tsung Lin tells that on the Buddha's birthday "the Goddess with the Nine Sons was worshipped with offerings of thin cakes in the under storey of the Ch'ang-sha-ssu pagoda, by the childless people of the markets, often with miraculous results."[9]

(It is under this variant name, incidentally, that Hārītī is referred to in the title of a picture by the Liang artist Hsieh Ch'ien; Liang entry 27.)

Indra:

The ancient Vedic god of the firmament and of war; personification of the martial enthusiasm that spurred the Aryan drive into India, and so patron of the Kṣatriya caste. Humbled first by the Brāhmans in their sacrificial literature, and then by the Buddhists, who tamed and transformed him into a meek paragon of piety. His dwelling-place, the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, seems to have been the first clearly defined land of bliss in Indian legend. With the development of cosmological interests it was located on the flat summit of the mythical worldmountain, Sumeru. Later, as Buddhist ideas about retribution grew more complex, it was topped by many other Heavens, more desirable or more spiritual. Most particularly it was overshadowed by Tuṣita, where the Bodhisattva Maitreya's presence added to the routine celestial pleasures an ineffable grace and promise of salvation. When both the Maitreya legend and the belief in earthly Paradises ruled by Buddhas like Amitāyus had attained their peak of influence, Indra's old-

[5] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 881a, b; Beal's translation, I, p. 111. S. Lévi, "Quelques documents sur le Bouddhisme ancien dans l'Asie centrale," *Bull. de l'école fr. d'ex. Or.*, V, 1905, pp. 253ff., quotes a *Candragarbha Sūtra* (translated into Chinese in 566; see note 12 below) that lists the demigod protectors of several border regions northwest of India; Hārītī is there assigned to the small state of Udyāna on the upper Indus.

[6] Translation by Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 37–39.

[7] See the article by Kobayashi cited in Sung note 39.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 10. In contrast stands a story told in the *Ekottarāgama*, xxv (*Daizōkyō*, II, p. 683a). A certain rich man who wanted a son prayed to all the deities he could think of: i. e. to the sun, the moon, the earth deity, Hārītī, the Four Lokapālas, the 28 Great Rulers of Demon Deities, Indra, Brahmā, the gods of mountains, trees, and roads – all in vain.

[9] Kobayashi, p. 10.

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fashioned Heaven sank almost to the level of a Purgatory.

Indra appears very often in Buddhist literature, playing a role that becomes increasingly stereotyped. Since his home is closer to the Earth than Brahmā's, he comes down more often, in a blaze of glory, to praise the Buddha, or listen, or ask questions that prompt another sermon. Presumably the Buddhists were able to manipulate him and Brahmā so freely because neither was any longer a figure of real importance in the Indian religious world. No such claims were made about Śiva and Viṣṇu; though the Church claimed their support and devotion as well, it did so with much more discretion, recognizing them as dangerous rivals.

Kapila Devarāja:

The Western origins of this guardian deity are obscure; most of the information that I have been able to assemble about him either concerns China or comes from Chinese sources. We meet him first as the special protector of the Kashmir missionary Dharmamitra, watching over the monk's travels until he was capable of continuing safely by himself. We know that Dharmamitra installed his cult at the temple that he founded in 435 on Mount Chung, outside of Nanking; and that at least as late as the Sui dynasty the Kapila image there was celebrated for its miracles, and imitated elsewhere as an iconographic type (Sung entry 14).

In a Nanking temple erected in 474 Kapila was paired with the Lokapala Vaiśravaṇa, the two being painted at the rear of the great hall – perhaps so as to guard over the entrance on the dangerous northern quarter (Sung entry 38). The same sort of association reappears in the edict issued by Wu Ti of the Liang in 513, forbidding animal sacrifices in general, which allowed a special exemption to those establishments where deer's heads and beef offerings had been made to the Four Lokapalas and the god Kapila (Liang entry 9).

A new pair appears on a Northern Ch'i stele of 567, where the donors' names are followed by incised drawings of Kapila and another protector, Nārāyaṇa, i. e. the Buddhists' tamed Viṣṇu.[10] It is these two, incidentally, that we find in the earliest (and so far as I know, the only surviving) sculptural representation of Kapila in China. The Ta-chu-sheng cave of Ling-ch'üan-ssu on Mount Pao in Honan, excavated and sculptured in 589, has outside its doorway the large figures of Kapila and Nārāyaṇa, executed in intaglio.[11] Kapila is pictured as a powerfully built warrior with a long beard, wearing a winged helmet that recalls some types of Sasanian crowns, and armor of a conventionalized Chinese type. He holds a sword in his right hand and a trident in his left, and stands on a diminutive ass.

A surprising item of evidence turns up in the so-called "Moon-womb *Sūtra*," translated under the Northern Ch'i in 566: a work full of magic and astrological lore, which shows so unusual a knowledge of Chinese Turkestan that it is likely to have been composed in some such center as Khotan.[12] One chapter contains a register of fifty-five cities or countries (most or all identifiable), with the supernatural guardians of various sorts assigned to them by the Buddha.[13] For "Chen-tan," China, the roster begins with the Devaputra Viśvakarman; continues with "the Great Yakṣa General Kapila," and adds nine others with the same title; furnishes threeDragon Kings; and concludes with three "Celestial Females," headed (interestingly enough) by "Hārītī, the Mother with the Demon Sons." The whole group, it is said, has been ordered by the

[10] See above, p. 131.

[11] Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, III, p. 180, pls. 133, 134.

[12] See note 5 above for the *Candragarbha Sūtra*, translated by Narendrayaṣas, a missionary from Udyāna. Nanjio's no. 63; also forms *ch.* xlvi–lvi in the long *Ta Fang-teng Ta Chi Ching*, Nanjio's no. 61; *Daizōkyō*, XIII, no. 397.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 368b. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 3421b to 3423a.

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Buddha to protect that land, bringing to an end all discord, anger, litigation, warfare, famine, pestilence, and unseasonable extremes of weather. It is difficult to know how seriously to take the list, which in part must be pure fantasy or padding.[14] Viśvakarman, for example, is a strange name to find heading the Chinese roll, since the Chinese evidence is almost completely silent about him. Perhaps he was included as a Central Asian compliment to Chinese art, since his role in Indian legend was that of the master architect and craftsman of the gods. For the assumption that Kapila was a guardian deity of first importance in sixth century China — though so little is said about him in the remaining texts — some corroboration is available in a Japanese document of the early ninth. The Japanese student-priest Jōgyō, a student under the Shingon founder Kūkai, who visited China in 838—839, brought back with him an image of "the Most Holy Kapila Devarāja," noting that he had found the god worshipped everywhere in China as a guardian, particularly against sickness and poverty.[15]

Jōgyō's personal interest highlights the paradox that Kapila seems to have been completely ignored — at least under that name — by the composers of the vast Tantric pantheon.[16] Presumably this was so because he had no outstanding reputation in India — so far as I know, he is not named in the Vedas, Brāhmanas, or epics among the famous supernatural warriors. His final role may have been formed by amalgamating the characteristics of more than one personage. The Kapila whom we have met as a Yakṣa general in China may be traced onto Indian soil through another curious catalogue of places and their protectors, this one included in the "*Sūtra* on the Spells of the Peacock King," *Mahā-mayūrī-rājnī-mantra-sūtra*, translated by Saṃghabhara under the Liang in 516. The name turns up twice here: once as the tutelary Yakṣa of a place calles Bahudhānyaka (unknown, but from its position in the list, apparently in north central India, on the route leading southward to Avanti, the modern Ujjayanī). Written with a different initial character in the Chinese transcription, we find "Kapila" again in connection with "Varṇu"; and there the sequence of site-names suggests the far northern tip of India, perhaps the modern Buner, north of the ancient Gandhāra.[17]

In non-Buddhist sources, on the other hand, "Kapila" seems to have been first the name of a celebrated ancient sage. As usual, Indian imaginations played with his memory in various ways that seem to our Western minds incongruous. Because of a philosophical statement attributed to him in the *Mahābhārata* (xii, 218), he is claimed as the founder of the Sānkhya school.[18] At the same time he appears in both epics in the strange tale of the 60,000 sons of King Sagar, who were sent out in a worldwide search for a stolen sacrificial horse. Delving deep under the earth in their frantic zeal, the youths came upon Kapila, disturbed him, and were instantly reduced to ashes by his fiery anger. The *Mahābhārata* version, (iii, 107), merely emphasizes his splendor and effulgence. In the *Rāmayāna*, (i, 12—13), he is called Vāsudeva, or "Vāsudeva in the guise of Kapila"; and we are told in a preceding paragraph that it is in that form that he protects eternally the Earth, his consort. At this stage, therefore, which must be relatively late, we find the

[14] A similarly distributed but quite different list of protectors is analysed by Lévi, "Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans le *Mahā Mayūri*," *Jour. As.*, 11th ser., V, 1915, pp. 19ff.; see especially p. 120, and my note 17 below.

[15] Mochizuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 460b, 2569a, b. The more famous Japanese pilgrim Ennin found a Hall of Kapila at the Yang-chou temple K'ai-yüan-ssu, which he visited in 838; see E. O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, New York, 1955, p. 61 (where the deity's name is rendered in the Japanese way as Kabira).

[16] He is not listed in the Japanese encyclopedia of Tantric Buddhism, *Mikkyō Daijiten* (edited by S. Matsunaga, Kyōto, 1932).

[17] The *sūtra* cited in note 14 above: Nanjio's no. 308, the *K'ung-ch'üeh Wang Chou Ching; Daizōkyō*, XIX, no. 984. For Bahudhānyaka and Varṇu, see pp. 450b, 450c; also Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 (no. 14), 64, and 38 (no. 30), 73.

[18] Information traced through H. Jacobi, *Mahābhārata, Inhaltsangabe, Index, u. Concordanz*, Bonn, 1903, under "Kapila."

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sage absorbed by the greater personality of Kriṣṇa, and so by the latter's *Ur-form*, Viṣṇu. (In the latest and lengthiest summation of Viṣṇu's avatars, Kapila is introduced as the fifth.)[19]

I do not know how these strands should be drawn together. Perhaps some recognition of the second prompted the use of Kapila and Nārayāṇa, both aspects of Viṣṇu, as paired door guardians on a Sui cave. On the other hand, the missionary Dharmamitra may have been more likely to seek guidance and protection from a Yakṣa of the northwest frontier; and it may have been the latter's success on the caravan routes that gave him the ass attribute (found in the same Sui relief).

Kumbhīra

A minor guardian, frequently mentioned in both the later Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna texts. A great many of these agree that his dwelling-place was a large cave in one of the mountains near Rājagṛha. Usually mentioned merely as the owner of the cave, or as one of the visitors of all sorts who came to praise the Buddha when He was in the vicinity.[20] A more picturesque version tells that on the occasion when the envious Devadatta tried to murder his cousin Śākyamuni by rolling a great rock down on Him, Indra commanded Kumbhīra Yakṣa to intervene. He did so and protected the Buddha at the cost of his own life; but the sacrifice secured him rebirth in Indra's Heaven.[21] I assume that it was this respectable background that won Kumbhīra mention as one of the Twelve Yakṣa Generals who aid Bhaiṣajyaguru;[22] and very likely the same reason explains his appearance in the fictitious tale of Liang Wu Ti's mission to secure the Indian copy of the Udyāna image – he was probably named as a well-known protector from the Buddha's homeland, to suggest that the enterprise was under divine guidance (Liang entry 5). On the other hand, Mochizuki's encyclopedia opens another possibility by pointing out that a *kumbhīra* was a crocodile or sea-monster, and occasionally the name of a Nāga king as well. Perhaps this association with water was held to warrant his serving as a guardian of sea-farers.[23]

Lokapālas, Four:

The guardian monarchs of the Four Quarters, in Chinese Ssu T'ien Wang, are among the most widely known supernatural figures in Buddhist legend. In the Hīnayāna phase they must have entered the Buddha's story at an early period of myth-making, though perhaps later (or at the outset, less often) than Indra. In terms of the general evolution of the Indian imagination they are relative late-comers, unknown in both the Vedic and the Brāhmanical literature. Their newness in comparison with Indra is revealed particularly by the makeshift position of their Heavens; since Indra had already been assigned the one fully reasonable place in the cosmological scheme, the summit of Mount Sumeru, they could be accomodated only by an obvious afterthought, on plateaux perched half-way up the world-mountain. Presumably they represent an intrusion, into the Indian world, of the four-quartered view of the Earth that had been com-

[19] In the *Mahābhārata* translation by Protap Chandra Roy, Calcutta, 1884, II, p. 333 (from the chapter "Vana Parva"). In the *Rāmayāna* translation by Makhan Lal Sen, Calcutta, n. d (3rd. ed.), I, pp. 70–73 (from the book "Balakandam"). Dowson, *Dictionary*, pp. 38, 150, under "Avatāra" and "Kapila."

[20] Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 57 (no. 101). Two versions appear in the Chinese translations of the *Āgamas*, or "Sermons": see *Daizōkyō*, I, p. 79c (*Ch'ang A-han*, xix), and II, p. 355a (*Tsa A-han*, xlviii).

[21] Told in the encyclopedic Vināya of the "original" (i. e. the Kashmir) division of the Sarvāstivādin sect: Nanjio's no. 1123, the *Ken-pen Shuo I-ch'ieh Yu Pu P'i-na-ya, P'o Seng Shih: Daizōkyō*, XXIV, pp. 192cff. In spite of the late date at which this work reached China – it was brought there and translated by I-ching in 710 – there is general agreement that it contains a great deal of early material. See further "Kompira" in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 1374b–1375a; also the Japanese reference book on persons, deities, and places named in early Indian Buddhism, *Indō Bukkyō Daijiten* (Tōkyō, 1931), p. 327b, under his name.

[22] See above, p. 173.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 1375a.

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mon in the Near East from time immemorial. They stand at the beginning of the age of fours (which in Buddhist art was to lead in time, through the usual processes of multiplication and subdivision. to the creation of the great universal *maṇḍalas)*.

Buddhism, itself relatively late, appeared at the right time to exploit the Lokapālas to the full. Their names are woven through Śākyāmuni's biography (though again with less insistence than Indra's), as they appear at critical moments to lend their aid or pay their tribute. The remaining fragments of the Bhārhut railing, dating around the middle of the second century B.C., indicate that their status as Buddhist guardians was already established at that time.[24] Among the surviving figures carved on the uprights of the rail, one, on the north side by the entrance, was inscribed "Kupiro-yakho," while another in the corresponding position on the south was named "Virudako-yakho." These were certainly the beings familiar in Sanskrit as "Kuvera" or "Vaiśravaṇa," and "Virūḍhaka"; there is no reason to suppose that the other two monarchs, the eastern Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the western Virūpākṣa, were absent from the original scheme. (In keeping with the archaic style of the time, the surviving Lokapalas are identified only in the most general way, as males of high caste. They already possess, however, the external attribute that in the end will become a fixed part of their iconographic equipment: each stands on a crouching, dwarfish monster.)

One of the Sāñcī gates, dating from the end of the first century B.C., turns to another side of the Lokapalas' usefulness by representing in relief form the hierarchy of the Heavens, with theirs as the bottom tier;[25] the Buddhist books often mention rebirth there as a reward for some relatively trifling service. As the Buddhist imagination took on symphonic richness, indeed, the *sūtra* composers seem to have derived a special pleasure from describing the supernatural world in ways that emphasized its variety and elaborate organization. In the literature of the transitional period between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, for example, even a casual contact between the two worlds might often be fully orchestrated. Earlier it would have been sufficient to speak of a visit from the gods, usually led by Indra. Now, to choose a typical instance from the "Sermons in Ascending Numerical Categories," vii, the party that assembles to pay a polite call on the holy disciple Aniruddha, on his return to his birthplace, Kuśinagara, consists of Indra, Brahmā, the Four Lokapālas, 500 Devaputra ("gods' sons," or angels), and the Twenty-eight Great Rulers of Demon Deities.[26] In this, as elsewhere, the artists of the period were usually unable to keep pace with the storytellers, for obvious reasons. Occasionally a thorough-going effort was made to match their abilities against what was written. One of these attempts must have been the decoration of the "Great *Thūpa*" (or *stūpa)* in Ceylon, attributed to King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The description given in the Sinhalese Buddhist chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, claims that the attendant figures includes the Four Lokapālas, the Thirty-three Gods, thirty-two Apsarases (or celestial maidens), the Twenty-eight Yakṣa Chiefs, and other godlings bearing every sort of offering.[27] (The date for this lost monument, if the chronicle is accepted, should have fallen within or soon after Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's reign, 101–77 B.C. Since the account specifically mentions Buddha figures, however, the work must have been done after the iconic revolution, i.e. probably in the second or third centuries A.D., at the same period as the decoration of the big *stūpa* at Amarāvatī, on the mainland.)

[24] Cunningham, *Barhut*, p. 20. The special number devoted to the Lokapālas, or Shitennō, by the Japanese *Yumedono* (Nara, 1933, no. XVI), includes an article by Hemmi B. on their appearance in India, pp. 18ff.

[25] Marshall, *Sanchi*, pl. XLIX.

[26] The *Ekottarāgama:* in the Chinese translation, *Daizōkyō*, II, p. 580c.

[27] Translated by W. Geiger, *The Mahāvaṃsa*, London, 1912, pp. 203ff.

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In the story-telling art of Gandhāra, the Lokapālas were introduced into the scenes of the Buddha's life wherever the texts required their presence, to assist or to adore. In some versions of the prince's midnight escape from the palace, for instance, it is they who lift up the horses' four feet, and so make the sound of its passing inaudible. When Śākyamuni, just before His final Enlightenment, decides to break His long fast and regain strength, their supreme opportunity for service comes; and they are privileged to appear and offer him their four bowls (which He will transform magically into one).[28]

Two functions that the Lokapālas must have acquired at a relatively late period probably caught the special attention of the Chinese. In the first place their guardianship was defined anew, in particularly impressive terms. A comparison of the many different accounts of the Buddha's final testament at the Paranirvāṇa reveals that many of these versions were written under the shadow of fear and discouragement. In the generations after the break-up of Aśoka's empire, when Buddhism suffered first from royal persecution and then from what must have seemed an endless series of barbarian invasions of the North, the voice of the Church was often a pessimistic one.[29] The monks who looked ahead could imagine only a further deterioration, and began to expect not merely that Buddhism would suffer, but that it would one day be extinguished. The sense of a desperate struggle for survival lies behind the words ascribed to the dying Buddha. In the Chinese translation of the "Miscellaneous Sermons," xxv, (made from a Sanskrit *Saṁyuktāgama*, by Guṇabhadra in early Sung) we find Him summoning Indra and the Four Lokapālas to His couch, and enjoining on each a special share in the defense of the Church, in the evil times to come.[30] (In this case both the motivation and the approximate date are made clear by what follows. The writer prophesies the arrival, "a thousand years after my Nirvāṇa," of four wicked invader-kings, named Pallava, Yavana, Śakya, and Tukhara, assigned respectively to the west, north, south, and east, as the human opposites of the benign Lokapālas. This is a conventionally symmetrical summary of the invasions that had plagued North India since the second century B.C., under the Bactrian Greeks, the Parthians, the Śakas, and the Kushans. Since the last are named, this part of the text can date no earlier than the first century A.D.)

I have alluded to the second new function in discussing the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru; it is a theory that makes the Lokapālas part of a neatly worked out law-enforcement apparatus, headed by Indra in his Heaven. A very short "*Sūtra* on the Four Celestial Monarchs," rendered into Chinese after 427 by the two ex-pilgrims Chih-yen and Pao-yün, states the case clearly.[31] The Four are Indra's adjutants, dividing up the Earth between them. On six stated days every month inspection trips are made, to examine the conduct of all living creatures, from the emperor down to the humblest insect. The days named are those of the *poṣadha*, or fasts, enjoined on all good Buddhists. On the eighth and twenty-third, the Lokapālas send emissaries or agents. On the fourteenth and twenty-ninth (the beginning of two-day fasts, and hence more serious) they despatch their crown princes. On the fifteenth and thirtieth they descend in person. They report on what they have seen to Indra and his gods, who are delighted or discouraged, as the situation demands. The *sūtra* goes on to enumerate the rewards heaped on the righteous man. He will be sent guardian spirits to watch over his welfare, five for every one of the commandments that he has observed; the Ssu-ming, "Keepers of Destinies," will be ordered to increase his life span; etc., etc. I do not know how far back this attempt

28 Foucher, *Gandhāra* I, pp. 357–358, 415–418.
29 See Przyluski, *Aśoka*, pp. 161 ff.
30 *Daizōkyō*, II, p. 177b, c.

31 See above, p. 177. The *sūtra* is Nanjio's no. 722, the *Ssu T'ien Wang Ching*: *Daizōkyō*, XV, no. 590.

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to bring Buddhist discipline into everyday life can be traced. The system is described in several works, including the "Sermons in Ascending Numerical Categories," xvi, which was translated in 384–385.[32]

When the Buddhist churches of the Far East had become thoroughly familiar with the use of the Four Lokapālas in art, two standard variations on the guardianship theme were devised. In one, first represented with the full allotment of attributes on the altar of the Hōryūji "golden hall" in Japan, the figures stand at the corners of an enclosure, encircling the main image.[33] In the other they flank the entrance to the temple precincts, two on a side; their figures, inside a "Ssu T'ien Wang T'ang" occupy what is normally the first or second building on the temple's grand south-to-north axis.[34] Both of these formulae are likely to have been used either in China proper or in Chinese Turkestan during the Six Dynasties period. What looks like a simpler version of the Hōryūji four-corner design seems to have been spaced around the central shaft of Cave 110 (Pelliot's numbering) in Tun-huang.[35] Photographs reveal only the front two guardians, but it is difficult to believe that they are not supplemented by the two others at the rear of the shaft. They wear what looks like a thigh-length leather coat, superimposed over the normal *dhoti* skirt of a heavenly being; and here stand directly on the altar platform, instead of on the back of a dwarf. This cave is normally attributed to the middle decades of Northern Wei activity, toward the end of the fifth century; a recent Japanese reappraisal has argued that it should be accepted as a pre-Wei cave, dating perhaps as early as the period 350–400.[36]

A Central Asian link between the gateway guardians of Barhut and those familiar in later Chinese practise is provided by the Rawak site in the Khotan region, dating perhaps in the fourth century. There Stein uncovered a single gateway through the long wall enclosing the *stūpa*, and found on either side of it the remains of two figures wearing a conventionalized warrior's dress.[37] Mailed gate guardians are of course not always Lokapālas, as the Kapila-Nārāyaṇa pair in the cave of A.D. 589 prove.[38] Here, however, one of the figures had lying in front of its feet a dwarfish creature with a half-animal face, a distant cousin at least of the monsters of Sāñcī and Hōryūji. The outermost guardian on each side had between its feet the diminutive bust of a woman. Since this latter symbol seems to me to point to the northern guardian, Vaiśravaṇa, I shall discuss it when I come to speak of him in person in a later paragraph.[39] The distribution of the feet-attributes, three among four figures, and two of the three identical, complicates the problem of identification. At least it seems certain that some, if not all, of the Lokapalas were designated. If Vaiśravaṇa was shown twice, and on a southeastern gateway at that, it must have been because he was a deity specially honored in the Khotan neighborhood.

It seems reasonable to assume that the Chinese represented and worshipped the Lokapālas in subordinate positions for some time before their cult became a noticeable one. The first instance of a temple named after them that I have been

[32] *Daizōkyō*, II, p. 624b–625a.

[33] *Hōryūji Ōkagami*, I, p. 5, pls. 67–86. The figures, dating around 650, were not made for Hōryūji, but must have had the same sort of position in their unknown first home.

[34] J. Prip-moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, Copenhagen and London, 1937, pp. 20–21.

[35] Pelliot, *Touen-houang*, pl. CXC.

[36] Fukuyama T., "A Tentative Chronology of the Tun-huang Caves," *Ars Buddhica*, XIX, 1953, pp. 29–32 (in Japanese).

[37] Sir M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 494 to 495, fig. 67, pl. XIVc, d.

[38] See above, p. 229.

[39] See below, pp. 240ff. It is possible that this same scheme was followed on the doorway between forehall and cella in Cave 8, Yün-kang. There are two guardians on each side of the aperture; the outer ones stand at a higher level, as if there were something under their feet (the stone is too badly eroded to show what). Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yün-kang*, V, pp. 96–97, pls. 12, 16.

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able to find has to do with a Ssu-t'ien-wang-ssu at the Northern Chou capital, Ch'ang-an, erected by order of the Emperor Ming (r. 559–560) to serve the needs of the most celebrated Western missionary of the period, Jñānagupta.[40] Very likely the desire to pay greater honor to the Lokapālas had something to do with the fact that Jñānagupta came from Gandhāra, and spent more than twenty years in the Central Asian states, before reaching North China.

A celebrated story from Japan, date a generation later, shows that the new emphasis on the Lokapālas must have made rapid headway in the North. In the brief civil war of 588 which overthrew the partisans of isolationism, a critical battle seemed for a time to be going the wrong way. The leader of the pro-Buddhist party, the future Regent Shōtoku, seeing defeat close at hand, "cut down a *nuride* tree, and swiftly fashioned images of the Four Lokapālas. Placing these on his topknot, he uttered the vow: 'If we are now enabled to gain the victory over the enemy, I promise faithfully to honor the Four Monarchs, the guardians of the world, by building for them a temple with a pagoda.'"[41] When the fight was won, in due course a temple called Shitennōji was erected, in what later became the city of Ōsaka. What the Japanese knew about Buddhism during this period they learned from Korea, at the outset from their ally Pekche on the southwestern side of the peninsula. Presumably the latter also had come to place a higher value than before on the divine aid given by the Lokapālas — very likely for the same reason, that they were thought to be powerful allies in war.

Mahā Kāśyapa:

One of the Buddha's personal converts, held in particularly high honor because of his age, his wisdom, and his high standing as a Brāhman. Traditionally remembered as having presided over the "First Council" held after the Buddha's passing away, and so accepted as the first patriarch of the Church. Like Ānanda, he later acquired votaries, who fanned their enthusiasm by disputing jealously with the adherents of the rival cult; a number of Hīnayāna books take one side or another in describing the altercations between the two disciples, which came to a head after the Nirvāṇa.[42] His followers gave great weight to the legend which told that he had been directed by the Buddha not to enter Nirvāṇa himself at the normal time, but to wait until the coming of Maitreya. Przyluski has ascribed this belief, with the Messiah doctrine of which it is a part, to the Northern school of the Sarvāstivādins, centering probably at Mathurā.[43] (Mahā Kāśyapa however, is not mentioned by either Fa-hsien or Hsüan-tsang among those who in their day were being worshipped at that city.)[44]

Along with several other disciples whose names had been made familiar by the Hīnayāna books, Mahā Kāśyapa is shown in the "Lotus" in a way designed to emphasize the crushing superiority of the new order. Like a group of ancient Confucian scholars confessing their intellectual sins before the Party, they accuse themselves of ignorance and short-sightedness, in not realizing the limitations of their former goal. Once purged, they are forgiven and taken back into the fold; and the Buddha benignly promises that each of them will in due course become a Buddha, with a Paradise of his own.[45]

Several of the Pāli books provide a list of the Buddha's personal disciples, both monks and nuns, with the strong points of each appended. Mahā Kāśyapa is cited here as having been foremost in practising austerities.[46]

40 Noted in his biography in *Hsü Kao SC*, ii (*Daizōkyō*, L, p. 433c).

41 Quoted with slight alterations from Aston's translation, *Nihongi*, II, p. 113.

42 See above, notes 1, 2.

43 Przyluski, *Açoka*, p. 171.

44 *Daizōkyō*, LI, pp. 859b, 890b; Beal's translation, I, pp. xxxix, 180–181.

45 Kern's translation, pp. 98–152; Soothill's, pp. 106–130.

46 J. G. Jennings, *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha*, London, 1948, p. 158.

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Maudgalyāyana:

Another of the Buddha's senior followers, who in the Pāli list just mentioned is described as foremost in spiritual power, i.e. in mastery over the supernatural.[47] Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang name him among those honored by worship at Mathurā, the latter stating that his special votaries were those who practised meditation.[48] (These two characterizations are really one, since it was an axiom in Indian thought that the adept in the technique of ecstatic meditation gained thereby a magical control over phenomena.) Late Hīnayāna books with a strong tinge of popular story-telling, like the Northern "Sermons in Ascending Numerical Categories," present Maudgalyāyana frankly as a magician, whose feats are as spectacular as a circus. One tale, for example, describes his duel at the top of Mount Sumeru with the two enormous Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda, who had grown so irritated at having monks continually fly over them that they ran amok.[49] The first round he fought in the shape of a Nāga with fourteen heads; but so much damage was wreaked in the encounter that he suddenly transformed himself into a tiny being who could fly unseen into their noses and ears. After they had been terrified by these attacks into a humbler frame of mind, he resumed his human form, gave them a severe lecture, and escorted them down to Earth to be introduced to the Buddha at Śrāvastī.

Mahāyāna literature had naturally much less reason to emphasize Maudgalyāyana's prowess, both because he belonged to the wrong camp and because magic itself had become so cheap a commodity that noone could claim a monopoly. He is one of the group purged and pardoned in the "Lotus." In the various versions of the Sukhāvatī tract, his limited human capacities are used as a measuring rod to guage the infinite number of Amitābha's listeners; even his famous "spiritual power" can carry him only a tiny fraction of the way toward the Mahāyāna truth.[50] Lokarakṣa's text, indeed, goes farther, in making the Buddha say that "all the Bodhisattvas and Arhats in all the innumerable Paradises excel my second disciple, Mahā Maudgalyāyana," by an incalculable amount in their mastery of just the attributes for which he had been celebrated.[51]

Nāga King:

A monarch of the world of deified serpents.[52] The Nāgas were imagined (long before the coming of Buddhism, and long after its disappearance in India) as snake-like demigods, whose proper home was, like a snake's, the bowels of the earth, or under water. Associated with great deposits of hidden wealth, like the dragon of the Rhinegold; and with the power of water, shown either in the torrent or in the storm. As in the case of other demi-god categories, their relationship with man was imagined as an equivocal one, now beneficent and now destructive; the maintenance of a proper balance between these extremes was held to be one of the functions of the Buddha and His Church.

Buddhist legends or illustrations in art of encounters between Śākyamuni or His representatives and the Nāga world divide broadly in character between the northern frontier and the rest of India. In India proper the Nāga seems to have been so familiar and so widely accepted a deity that the Church found it expedient to try to absorb the cult, instead of attacking it head-on. Most of the Nāga stories that came to cluster around the primitive biography of Śākyamuni present the creature as very powerful but pious and aimiable, and anxious to do its best to serve

[47] *Ibid.* p. 158.
[48] See note 44.
[49] *Daizōkyō*, II, pp. 703b–704b (from xxviii).
[50] *Ibid.*, XII, p. 307c; in Takakusu's translation pp. 31–32.
[51] *Daizōkyō*, XII, p. 289a, b.
[52] J. P. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore, or the Nāgas in Hindu legend and Art*, London, 1926.

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the Three Treasures. In the northern border region, on the other hand, the theme of the snake seems to have aroused memories of Iranian dualism. The Nāga was both more terrible and more completely evil; to win him over required brute force or an overwhelming display of magic. Even when he had submitted and promised to reform, the danger of a relapse remained ever-present.[53] The contrast between the two relationships may be underlined by citing a story typical of each region. As the Buddha's nativity was described, century after century, with ever more elaborate details, it became the fashion to imagine that the pure water for the baby's first bath was provided by the two greatest Nāga kings, Nanda and Upananda, who during the process maintained themselves in the air.[54] The most celebrated encounter described in the north was that which created the prodigy of the "shadow cave" in Afghanistan. Like a Buddhist St. George, Śākyamuni is said to have beaten his fearsome antagonist into a panic-stricken submission; and it was to guard against any recurrence of the plague that He left his "shadow" in the Nāga's cave to be a perpetual reminder.[55]

In the monotonously elevated symphonic style of the Mahāyāna, the Nāga's part becomes a minor one , sounded occasionally for orchestral color alongside the other members of the Eight Classes.

In the Far East the Nāga was accepted unhesitatingly as a foreign way of describing the traditional dragon, and was so represented in art from an early date.[56] In time the sprawling, haphazard enclosure formed by custom about the Church, came to accept a great number of local dragon cults, formed about water-falls, mountain lakes, and the like (in much the same fashion as in India; the link being probably one of convenience rather than necessity).

Nārāyaṇa:

One of the best-known Hindu epithets of Viṣṇu. In the period that concerns us, the Buddhists must have recognised the potential (and sometimes actual) danger posed by the two great Hindu sects, and so treated their main divinities with an unusual circumspection. Presumably it would have been absurd to assign them the sort of fawning courtiers' role played by Indra and Brahmā, ancient gods who had lost much of their popular support. For the most part they were not mentioned at all, since they could not be fitted tidily into the Church's scheme. If their names appear, it is apt to be in a work of relatively late date, whose author could not entirely suppress his awareness of the religious situation in his day. In the *Lalitavistara*, for example, when the story is told of the child Buddha's "Presentation in the Temple," what looks like a realistic register of gods' images is given; and there we find "Śiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Chandra, Surya, Vaiśravaṇa, Sakra (i.e. Indra), Brahmā, the guardians of the world, etc."[57]

The name Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa seems to have been for the Buddhists a metaphor for enormous bodily strength – the attribute that emerges most clearly from the passages in the *Bhagavad-gītā* that describe him in his monstrous, macrocosmic form, swallowing up whole armies of his enemies at once.[58] In one of the late chapter of the "Lotus," for example, the hero of the piece, the Bodhisattva Wonder-sound, is described as having "a body as firm and strong as Nārāyana's." (It is probably significant of the gradually increasing susceptibility of Buddhism to Hinduist pressure that this passage occurs in Kumārajīva's version, while Dharmarakṣa's, done more than a century earlier, has merely "the strength of his body is illimitable."[59] The meta-

53 See my 'Aspects of Light Symbolism," *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 4, pp. 314ff. on "Hero and Serpent God."

54 Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, pp. 309–310; Foucaux' translation of the *Lalitavistara*, p. 78. 55 See the Appendix, pp. 265ff.

56 Two stages of the transformation from serpent-human to dragon are shown in Buddhist stelae of 457 and 546: Siren, *Sculpture*, pls. 117, 185.

57 Foucaux' translation, p. 108.

58 Telang's translation, pp. 93–95.

59 *Daizōkyō*, IX, pp. 55c, 127c; Kern's translation, p. 297.

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phor occurs again in the Sukhāvatī *sūtra*, turning up for the first time in Saṃghavarman's translation of 252 (and being absent in the earlier two).

"If when I am become a Buddha the Bodhisattvas in my country do not have *vajra* Nārāyaṇa bodies, may I not attain perfect Enlightenment."[60]

In Kumārajīva's translation of the commentary to the *Mahā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, ii, a passage gives a summary description of the attributes of three of the best-known Hindu gods.[61] "The god Maheśvara, for example, has eight arms and three eyes, and rides on a white bull. The god Viṣṇu has four arms, holds a shell and a wheel, and rides on a golden Garuḍa bird-monster. The god Kumara [i.e. the god of war, Skanda, or Kārttikeya, sometimes called Śiva's son], holds a cock, a bell, and a red banner, and rides a peacock. All such gods and great generals, every kind of deity of this sort, all have their own greatness . . ."

The one certainly identifiable representation of Śiva and Viṣṇu in Six Dynasties China is the pair of figures executed in relief in Cave 8, Yün-kang, on the jamb of the doorway between the fore-hall and the cella, just above the springing level. Since almost nothing about the figure of the presumed Viṣṇu except its polymorphic character corresponds directly to the description in the preceding paragraph, we see that Hinduist iconography at the time was still fluid. The adjacent Cave 7, which is in most respects closely similar, has also a pair of polymorphic doorway gods, which must stand for the same divine pair but represent still another iconographic type. (The possibility of naming the images in Cave 8, where they are better preserved, is due to their "vehicles"; one is clearly Śiva's bull, and the other a Chinese version of the mythical Garuḍa.)[62] In comparison, the doorway guardian of A.D. 589 on Mount Pao in Honan would be unrecognizable were he not called "Nārāyaṇa" by an inscription; like the adjacent Kapila, he is a bearded warrior, wearing armor as if he were a Lokapala.[63] His one exotic attribute, the bull or ox on which he stands, looks like a sign of Chinese ignorance of Hinduist iconography.

Another possible revelation of ignorance concerns the epithet that we have met in the Sukhāvatī *sūtra*, "*vajra* Nārāyaṇa." In the Sanskrit these were probably meant as separate adjectives, so that the phrase ran literally "adamantine, Nārāyaṇa-[like] bodies." One section of Chinese opinion probably interpreted them as a compound name, and so tended to identify "Vajra Nārāyaṇa" with the "Vajra-bearer," Vajrapāṇi. It is possible, therefore, that Viṣṇu had a long career incognito in Far Eastern Buddhist art, as the half-naked guardian who as a pair shared responsibility for the temple gateway with the Lokapālas.

See also under Vajrapāṇi.

Rāhula:

Śākyamuni's one son, and one of his personal followers. In the Pāli list of the disciples and their special qualifications he appears as foremost in "desiring instruction."[64] Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang name him as one of those who were remembered at Mathura by a *stūpa* and periodic ceremonies, his special votaries being the novices.[65] A legend makes him one of four disciples (headed by Mahā Kāśyapa) who were ordered by the Buddha to postpone their entry into Nirvāṇa; it was presumably this fact that guaranteed him inclusion later among the group of Sixteen Arhats (among whom the Chinese count him the eleventh).[66]

[60] *Ibid.*, XII, p. 268a; Takakusu's translation, pp. 17–18.
[61] *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 73a.
[62] *Yün-kang*, V, pp. 96–97, pls. 16–17; and IV, pp. 102–103, pls. 14–19.
[63] See above, p. 229.
[64] Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
[65] See note 44.
[66] Przyluski, *Açoka*, p. 168: told, e. g., in the *Ekottarāgama* (*Daizōkyō*, II, p. 789a). For Rāhula as one of the Sixteen, see Werner, *Dictionary*, p. 266.

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I cannot explain why the missionary Guṇavarman should have had a special painting done of Rāhula, except that he must have stood for eager youth, as did the companion subject, the youth Sumedha spreading his hair on the ground before Dīpamkara (Sung entry 13). Perhaps the two had been chosen as patrons by Guṇavarman in his boyhood, and their representation in the Canton temple was a thank-offering for their guardianship over his travels.

Śāriputra:

In the primitive texts he appears as the disciple closest to his master in understanding of the truth; many times we read that when Śākyamuni found Himself wearied by the strain of preaching, He retired and asked Śāriputra to continue. In the Pāli list remembered as foremost in "great insight"; named by the two Chinese pilgrims at the head of those worshipped at Mathura, Hsüan-tsang adding that his special votaries were those who studied the Abhidharma.[67]

In the late, spectacular Hīnayāna works he is apt to be transformed, like his closest associate Maudgalyāyana, into a magician. In the "Sermons in Ascending Numerical Categories," for instance, one anecdote tells of a duel in magic between the two, in which Śāriputra was the winner.[68] Maudgalyāyana had playfully attempted to carry his friend off through the air; the storyteller notes, by way of a homely beginning, that Śāriputra had been mending his monk's robe in the Jetavana monastery, at Śrāvastī, and so was missing when the Buddha convened an assembly on the top of the Himalāyas. When Maudgalyāyana tried to lift him, he found it impossible to move even a sash, though the earth quaked with his efforts.

In the Vimalakīrti *sūtra* Sāriputra is made the victim of one of the most ingenious Mahāyāna attempts to destroy confidence in the old values. In the first place he is named as the first of the ten disciples who ask in turn to be excused from serving as the Buddha's emissaries to Vimalakīrti, on the grounds that they are "not worthy to go and inquire after his health."[69] (This, when in the old days a holy monk had been held superior to a god!) Secondly, the composer, or composers, of the *sūtra* had enough dramatic sense to break up its long metaphysical debate by a shorter interlude in a lighter, even a comic vein. This, too, is a debate, but its tone is that of a burlesque. When the leader of the Buddha's party, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, comes to a temporary halt, Śāriputra rises to continue, in the traditional way, and suggests the old, stern dogma of woman's necessary inferiority to man in the pursuit of salvation. His opponent is a goddess, who caps her argument by changing bodies with him. Humiliated both as a monk and as a magician, he can only yield.[70] It is interesting to note, parenthetically, that in the earlier, third century translation of the *sūtra* Śāriputra's opponent is referred to as a god, *t'ien*, throughout the debate, and only at the moment of the transformation is there a reference to a *t'ien-nü shen*, a goddess's body. Perhaps this discrepancy reflects a still earlier stage of the story in which no such miracle occurred, and two masculine adversaries completed their argument in a serious vein.

Vaiśrāvaṇa:

The Lokapāla of the North; almost always treated as the most important of the guardians of the quarters, presumably because the north was usually the danger zone, in India, Central Asia, China, Korea, and (to a much slighter degree) Japan. Some of the later Hīnayāna texts already mention him as an important individual

[67] Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 158. See note 44.

[68] *Daizōkyō*, II, pp. 708c–709c.

[69] *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 539c vs. 521c (the two versions); Idumi's translation, *Eastern Buddhist*, III, 2, p. 141.

[70] In the same texts, pp. 547c–548c vs. 528b–529b; translation in *ibid.*, III, 4, pp. 345–349.

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as well as a member of the Four. Occasionally he is named as if he were a different god altogether, and more consequential; when the *Lalitavistara* enumerates the gods in the temple visited by the child Buddha, for example, "Vaisrāvaṇa" is halfway down the list, while "the guardians of the world" come last.[71] In the Northern "Sermons in Ascending Numerical Categories" he is often paired with Indra. One passage, for example, describes the Buddha's triumphal progress through the air with a picturesque new complexity.[72] As if it were a circus procession with floats, the great disciples sweep along in the van, performing spectacular miracles. Finally appear Brahmā on the Buddha's right, Indra on His left, Vajrāpaṇi holding his thunder-bolt, and Vaiśrāvaṇa bearing the royal parasol.

The testimony of the register of places and their protectors that we have found in the "Moon-womb *Sūtra*" tells that at least by the sixth century Vaiśrāvaṇa had become the special protector of the great Central Asian Mahāyāna center, Khotan.[73] According to Hsüan-tsang, the Khotanese ruler claimed to be a descendant of the god. In the beginning, when the land had been a desert, Vaiśrāvaṇa had made his home there. Later, when the kingdom had been founded, a monarch who feared that he would go childless prayed in the god's temple; whereupon the idol's forehead split open and a baby emerged. To find proper food for it, the king once more prayed. "Thereupon the ground in front of the god suddenly welled up in a form like a breast, from which the divine child drank eagerly." When the baby grew to manhood, he ruled wisely and well, and "erected a temple to honor the First Ancestor . . . The present shrine of the god is plentifully adorned with rare treasures, and worship is offered therewithout any lapses."[74]

We may imagine that the outer gate guardians at Rawak in the Khotan vicinity, who were found standing each with the well-developed bust of a diminutive woman rising from the pedestal between his feet, represent an artist's re-interpretation of this story.[75] A shape like a breast, rising alone out of the earth, would have been a startling sight and one not easy to comprehend; how much better to convey the same idea by showing a traditional mother-figure, like an earth goddess. The Japanese have preserved from their early Heian period several examples of what they call a "Tobatsu Bishamon" type, in which the tall figure of the guardian (wearing a long coat like those at Rawak) stands on a later and more complex attribute, designed to reconcile the Khotanese version to the ordinary Lokapala's "vehicle." There is still a woman's bust at the center, but under either foot is a squirming dwarf-demon.[76]

Vajra-bearing Guardian(s); Vajrapāṇi:

Referred to in various ways in the Chinese translations: particularly as Chih-chin-kang, Chin-kang Li-shih, or Mi-chi Chin-kang Li-shih,[77] names conveying the ideas of a *vajra* (thunderbolt) mace and of great strength. In the Hīnayāna period imagined as a single guardian figure, assigned to follow and defend the person of Śākyamuni by his bravery, his strength, and the power of his supernatural weapon. Probably best known in Gandhāra, for the sculptures of that region show him continually in the Buddha's company, holding his thunderbolt and very often looking like a provincial Herakles. The late Hīnayāna story-tellers found it expedient to use him as an instrument of attack, rather than merely as a passive symbol of security. Thus the popularized late versions of two well-known stories of debates between the Buddha and his "heretic"

[71] See above, p. 231.
[72] *Daizōkyō*, II, p. 622b, c.
[73] *Ibid.*, XII, p. 368a.
[74] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 943b; Beal's translation, II, pp. 309, 311.
[75] See above, p. 234.
[76] Matsumoto B., article on this iconographic type in his *Bukkyō Shi Zakkō*, Osaka, 1944, pp. 273ff.
[77] See the general glossary.

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opponents are brought to a sudden end by Śākyamuni's exasperated threat to use the Vajrabearer to smash his adversary's skull. In the apocryphal account of the Buddha's triumphal tour through the far Northwest, given in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin sect, we are told that Sākyamuni decided to take Vajrapāṇi as his companion on a trip to meet and convert the terrible Nāga king Apalāla. In the duel that followed, although the Buddha Himself met and countered the brunt of the monster's fury, much of the latter's eventual humiliation was due to the fact that Vajrapāṇi struck the top of a mountain with his mace and precipitated a landslide, which half filled the Nāga's lake.[78]

The Vajrapāṇi type, as the name occasionally makes clear, is a variant of the Yakṣa. As we have seen, the latter category, always a vague one, tended under the Mahāyāna efflorescence to lose whatever chthonic or terrestrial limitations it may have once had, and to merge with the lesser gods. The being who on the Bhārhut gate-post was referred to as "Kupiro-yakkho" became as the Lokapala Vaiśrāvaṇa a deity who associated with Indra.[79] The Vajrapāṇi type benefited by the same sort of promotion, and eventually entered the category named by such alternatives as Devarāja, Great Yakṣa General, or Benevolent Spirit (Shan Shen). As early as the commentary on the *Mahā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, xxxix, it is stated that "among the demon deities there are those like the Yakṣa 'Mi-chi Chin-kang' and 'the Mother of the Demon Sons' (i.e. Hārītī) who have been able to find the Way, and now are great Bodhisattvas."[80] As part of the same Mahāyāna development, the once single guardian became a class, capable of being denominated by any convenient number. Thus we have found a reference (in Sung entry 21) to "sixteen figures of the spirits Chin-kang Mi-chi and the like." I have not been able to locate a scriptural justification for this group of sufficiently early date, but one must exist. By the T'ang dynasty Tantric or proto-Tantric literature refers to several groups of the kind. There are sixteen deities (referred to by all the alternative titles cited earlier in this paragraph) who are celebrated as the protectors of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and those who follow it. "Sixteen Vajrapāṇi Spirits" have their place in the Tantric pantheon of the *Kongō-kai Mandara*.[81]

The Buddhist world of the Far East knew the Vajrapāṇi type best through its utilization as entrance guardians. That this natural adaptation was first carried out in India is proved by a passage from the *Vinaya* of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, giving instructions as to the proper artistic treatment of a monastery. The passage begins: "On the two sides of the gate should be made Yakṣas holding maces,"[82] The mention of weapons here suggests a relatively late date. None are given to the Yakṣas stationed as entrance warders at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and on the facade of the Nāsik *vihara*. The earliest appearance known to me of something like the full-fledged Vajrapāṇi type is on the facade of a Guptan cave in the Udayagiri group in Bhopal, where the pair flanking the door are armed with axes.[83]

Vimalakīrti:

The protagonist of the *sūtra* bearing his name, which records his metaphysical debate with the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The long description giv-

[78] A debate with the Brāhman Ambattha is described in the *Dirghāgama*, xiii, and one with the Jain Saccaka in the *Ekottarāgama*, xxx, and the *Samyuktāgama*, v (*Daizōkyō*, I, p. 83a; II, pp. 716a, 36a, respectively). For the Buddha's tour and the duel with Apalāla, see Przyluski, "Nord-ouest de l'Inde," pp. 507, 510–511. In the "Sea *Sūtra*" Vajrapāṇi twice plays a similar role: once in the combat at the Shadow Cave, and again in His duel with a demon general; *Daizōkyō*, XV, pp. 680a, 678c.

[79] See above, p. 240.

[80] *Daizōkyō*, XXV, p. 344a.

[81] Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp. 2412cff.

[82] *Daizōkyō*, XXIV, p. 252; for the whole passage see my "Early Buddhist Attitudes" in *Art Bulletin*, 1950, p. 149.

[83] K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the Guptas*, London, 1926, pl. 29a, pp. 59–60.

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en of him is one of the most comprehensive attempts to illustrate the Mahāyāna ideal in action.[84] Instead of fleeing from temptations into the forest or the monastery, he has lived all his life in their midst without being smirched; he represents at once the highest degree of worldly success and the highest level of spiritual attainment. He is able to enter any environment, from the wine-shop to the palace of a god, and dominate it by his goodness. Among beings of any honorable estate, he is the most honorable of all. Any class, human or divine, with which he comes into contact he can persuade to fulfill the ethical or spiritual duties natural to it. (In all this there is clearly the same idea that we have met in a more advanced form in the "Lotus" chapter's account of Avalokiteśvara, as one who assumes any sort of guise, human, divine, or even demon, to be able to convert the various categories of existence most efficiently.)[85] As I have suggested earlier, this characterization must have helped greatly to popularize the Vimalakīrti *sūtra* among the Chinese scholar class, both within and without the Church.[86]

Disciples or Arhats in Groups of Five or Ten:

Buddhism developed no single, fixed number, like the Christian twelve, to delimit the major personal disciples of Śākyamuni. Different *sūtras* enumerated groups of widely varying lengths. As imaginations began to operate in more and more obviously fixed patterns, some of this variety yielded to a standardization; a fairly large number of texts signalize "four great disciples" for example (although the names that they give still are far from uniform).

The number ten came to be accepted in the Far East, more often than any other, as the canonical sum, probably because the authority behind it was unusually specific: the Vimalakīrti *sūtra* names and quotes the apocryphal speeches of ten followers of the Buddha, who begged in turn to be excused from the duty of paying a visit on the formidable old man.[87] Presumably it was this set that was referred to by the Liang dynasty Crown Prince when he complained that the careless temple custodians of his day might crowd together "five or ten figures of saints . . . into a single shrine" (Liang entry 21).

The set of five is much harder to find in the scriptures. It is, as we have seen, a favorite with the author of the "Sea" *sūtra*, perhaps because he had come into contact with Manichaean doctrines that emphasized it as part of a cosmic pattern. His version of the Buddha's triumph over the maleficent Nāga at the "Shadow Cave" is a kind of tournament in which the champions are arrayed against each other singly and in fives. Śākyamuni meets the monster in person; His seconds, "Ānanda and the four great disciples," are matched against the five ogress-wives.[88]

[84] *Daizōkyō*, XIV, pp. 520cff. vs. 539aff.; Idumi's translation in *Eastern Buddhist*, III, 2, pp. 138–140. It may be noted in passing that the earlier translation contains nothing like the clause found in Kumārajīva's, saying that the sage "has obtained all the *dhāraṇīs*" [i. e. magical incantations]; as elsewhere, the difference apparently marks the increasing permeation of Buddhism with magical practises.

[85] See above, pp. 155.

[86] See above, p. 221.

[87] *Daizōkyō*, XIV, pp. 521cff. and 538cff.

[88] See my "Aspects of Light Symbolism" in *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 3, p. 279; and XII, 4, p. 327.

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IV.

THE MIRACLES

The following list is an analysis of the types of miracles performed by the images cited in my text.

Miraculous Finds:

General: 3 Kingdoms: entry 2; Chin: entries 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 20, 24; Sung: entries 1, 29, 48, 49 50; Minor North: entries 1, 3, 8; Wei: entry 29.

Aid in selection: Chin: entry 29.

Mobility:

Preternatural immobility: Chin: entries 3, 4, 11, 16, 20.

Preternatural lightness: Chin: entries 4, 16, 20; Sung: entry 29; South Ch'i: entry 2; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 4.

Moving self: Chin: entries 3, 11, 16; Liang: entries 2, 7; Minor North: entries 9 (?), 11; Wei: entries 14, 18, 24, 25; North Ch'i, Chou: entries 8, 12.

Portents:

Sweating: Chin: entry 16; Sung: entries 2, 29; Wei: entry 14; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 4.

Weeping: Chin: entry 16; Minor North: entry 11; Wei: entry 14.

Snivelling: North Ch'i, Chou: entry 5.

Shaking: Chin: entry 3.

Hair growing: Wei: entry 30.

Inability to hold: Chin: entry 3; Wei: entry 29.

Color change: Wei: entries 9, 35.

Light emission: Chin: entries 3, 11, 15, 16; Sung: entries 29, 30; Liang: entries 3, 9, 23; Minor North: entry 8; Wei: entries 9, 29; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 12.

Influence on Humans:

Protection: Chin: entries 20, 22, 25, 33, 34; Sung: entries 38, 52, 54; Minor North: entry 12; Wei: entry 34.

Self-defense or vengeance: 3 Kingdoms: entry 2; Chin: entries 2, 11, 16, 20; Sung: entries 51, 53; Liang: entries 2, 4; Wei: entry 35; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 4.

Aid: Chin: entry 21; Sung: entry 35; Liang: entries 3, 4, 16.

Influence on Nature:

Rain-making: Chin: entries 3, 11, 16, 20; Liang: entry 2.

Other celestial phenomena: Chin: entries 11, 13, 16.

Safety against fire: Chin: entries 16, 20, 25; South Ch'i: entry 2; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 4.

What can have been the source of the ideas underlying these marvels? It is conceivable, but unlikely, that they were invented by the Chinese themselves, out of faith or shrewd Church policy. One rather nebulous counter-argument to this supposition is that the Chinese of the fourth century (when the miracle stories began to ap-

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pear) were too inexperienced in the cult of images to possess any well-developed complex of beliefs about their nature and functions. A more effective objection is the fact that the Western parallels of an earlier date that can be found are too numerous and too close for mere coincidence. Of the frequently recurring Chinese types, I believe that only one, the miraculous discovery, is likely to have been imagined in China. The rest should probably be ascribed to one or the other of the two home-lands from which Buddhist iconolatry emerged: either to India or to the Greco-Roman world.

The case of the miraculous find was a special one in the early Six Dynasties because of the temporal and spatial position of China with respect to the rest of the Buddhist world. Chinese believers, whose instinct was to think of their country as the center of civilization and the focus from which all the higher human values should radiate, found themselves in this new relationship coming both late and from the far outside. One effective means of glossing over the humiliating truth was the legend of King Aśoka's missionary achievements: the claim that China had been drawn close to the center in the far-distant past, in the Golden Age of the kings of Early Chou. The Aśokan statues and *stūpas* were invented to bridge the gap between that day and the present — imagined as over a thousand years — when Buddhism had been totally forgotten. It was both fitting, and from the propaganda standpoint convincing, that they should emerge from their long obscurity by supernatural means. The most famous of them were not found, but disclosed themselves when the proper time had come; clearly to stress the fact that their rediscovery was the result of a divine plan. (The further development of the theme of witnesses out of the past, the claim that monuments existed and could reappear from the immensely more remote age of Kāśyapa Buddha, was doubtless a result of the Chinese passion for exploring antiquity.)

The only counterpart to this situation that I know in the non-Christian West is the case of the miracle-working colossus seen by the Chinese pilgrims in the Central Asian kingdom of Khotan.[1] There the gap to be closed was only a spatial one, and so a legend grew up that the statue had flown thither from India.[2] On the other hand conditions comparable to the Chinese must have recurred many times in the history of Christendom, when religious enthusiasm flared up in new lands, or awoke after a long interruption on old ones. A close comparison, for example, is furnished by the gradual reappearance of image worship in the late Carolingian period, in Southern France, after an interval of a half millennium. In many cases the sanctity ascribed to these new "Majesties" (statues usually of the Virgin, enclosing relics) was heightened by the assertion that they had been "found beneath oak tree roots by wood-cutters, or by shepherds at a dolmen or fairy spring."[3]

The clearest indication of a miracle type rooted in the Indian past is given by the theme that I have called "preternatural immobility." The statue that could not be moved at the wrong time, or in the wrong direction, or by the wrong people, must have had its prototype in the body of Śākyamuni Himself. Several relatively early *sūtra* accounts of the ceremonies that followed the Buddha's Paranirvāna agree that until the divinely established conditions were properly met, it was impossible for the mourners of Kuśinagara to stir His coffin.[4] In addition, the Chinese learned from Fa-hsien's travel record

[1] See below, p. 262.

[2] In the case of two Chinese "Aśokan" images, Chin entries 3 and 16, the mystery of reappearance was deepened by uncertainty as to whether they might not have come in the immediate past from India, by some similar (though unspecified) magical means.

[3] J. Evans, *Art in Mediaeval France*, London, New York, and Toronto, 1948, p. 3.

[4] Przyluski, "Paranirvāṇa," in *Jour. As.*, 1920. On this and other aspects of the immobilization theme, see also L. Olschki, "The Crib of Christ and the Bowl of Buddha," *Jour. of the Am. Or. Soc.*, 70, 1950, pp. 163–164.

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that the Buddha's alms-bowl had once been immobilized in an even more dramatic fashion, at the Gandhāran capital, Puruṣapura. A Kushan monarch, arriving as a conqueror, had tried to carry it home with him. First one elephant and then eight proved totally unable to move the holy object; and the monarch realized with deep sorrow that "he had as yet no Karma-relationship with the bowl."[5]

It is an interesting commentary on Six Dynasties Buddhism — or at least on those aspects of it recorded by Tao-hsüan — that the great images that showed most awareness of their human environment were sensitive not to individual worshippers, but to the condition of the body politic. They were not primarily healers or rescuers, but were *palladia* of a sort. Their powers of defense were feeble, but they could foretell crises, responding like barometers to falling pressure in the political world. They were, in other words, the instruments of a religion that was thoroughly enveloped by the Chinese state. In this respect their probable forerunners were not the calm, indifferent deities of India, but those addressed by the state cults of Greece and Rome: beings close to man, partisan in their sympathies, deeply concerned over the outcome of wars or rebellions, and revealing their agitation through their statues. The Greco-Roman images responded to human crises in virtually all the ways described by Tao-hsüan, and in others as well. They were particularly given to sweating. Thus in connection with the critical stage of the Second Punic War Livy records (among many other portents) two manifestations of sympathetic sweating while Hannibal was in Italy. In 217 B.C. the images affected were those of Mars and the tutelary wolves at Rome (xxii, i). In 210 a group of four statues sweated blood at the Grove of Feronia, presumably expressing their indignation in a more forceful way because the Carthaginians had despoiled their shrine (xxvii, iv). Plutarch's biography of Mark Antony tells that prior to the battle of Actium, "sweat ran from one of the marble statues of Antony at Alba for many days together, though frequently wiped off." (Plutarch was obliged to record so many instances of images that had sweated or wept or made a noise that he thought it advisable in one of these passages to mention his own disbelief.)[6] Several other exudations of sweat or blood in the last half of the first century B.C. are noted by Dio Cassius;[7] still others are mentioned by Cicero in his *De Divinatione*.[8] As for the Greek-speaking end of the Mediterranean, Diodorus Siculus speaks of sweating images in connection with Alexander's siege of Thebes (xvii, 17). The Alexandrian "Acts of the Pagan Martyrs" in describing a debate held before Trajan by pagan and Jewish spokesmen from that city, tell that as the argument grew hot a bust of Serapis carried by the pagan party broke out into a sweat, at which the Romans fell into a panic.[9] In Lucian's *De Dea Syria* we read that the statue of Apollo at Hierapolis would stir and sweat whenever it was about to utter an oracle.[10]

The most famous weeping image, cited by historians as far apart as Livy and St. Augustine, was the Apollo of Cumae, which is said to have lamented publicly when the Greeks were worsted by the Romans in three successive wars of the second century B.C.[11]

It will be remembered that "the gilded image of Ch'ang-kan-ssu" (Chin entry 3) foretold the

[5] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 858b; Beal's translation, I, pp. xxxii to xxxiii.

[6] Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, (translation by A. H. Clough, New York, n. d., V, p. 108); *Life of Coriolanus*, (*ibid.*, II, p. 43).

[7] Dio Cass., xl, 17; xl, 47, 2; 1,8; lvii, 40 (translation by H. B. Foster, Troy, N. Y., 1906, respectively II, 216 and 238; III, 146 and 277).

[8] In the translation by W. A. Falconer (London and New York, 1923), pp. 329, 330–331.

[9] Edited by H. A. Musurillo, S. J., Oxford, 1954, p. 48.

[10] Translated as "The Syrian Goddess" by H. A. Strong and J. Garstang, London, 1913, pp. 76, 77.

[11] Livy recorded in the summary of his prodigies by J. Obsequens, 28; Dio Cass., xxiv, frag. lxxxiii; Augustine, *City of God*, iii, 2. Other weepings are noted in Obsequens, 6, from Livy.

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fate of the Ch'en dynasty by twice dropping its tiara. To a similar end when the Messenians were facing defeat at the hands of Sparta their bronze armed Artemis let her shield fall to the ground.[12] Plutarch records two dropping prodigies: in the troubled days of Otho the Capitoline Victory let go of her reins; the fall of the tyrant Hiero was heralded when one of his statues dropped out its eyes.[13] (The much more familiar Greco-Roman warning was the falling of the image itself. The Chinese, if the idea was ever carried to them, probably rejected it as beneath the dignity of a Buddha.)

The Roman authors notice numerous instances of statues that showed their uneasiness by turning on their pedestals.[14] The phenomenon that I have called "preternatural lightness" is illustrated by one of the earliest stories, told first by Livy (v, xxii). His account of the taking of the Etruscan city of Veii in 396 B.C. ends with a paragraph on the removal and installation in Rome of the tutelary statue of Juno. The goddess was asked if she wished to go with the victors. Perhaps the image nodded, or spoke in assent; certainly it allowed itself to be moved, for all its weight, with a magical ease to Rome. By the second century A.D. immobility had so far ceased to be expected of divine images that Lucian could parody their liveliness in his *Philopseudes*: describing a statue that descended every night from its pedestal to walk around the house, often singing as it went.[15]

The same anecdote by Lucian ends in a burlesque of the theme of divine vengeance: the peripatetic statue is said to have come upon a thief who was stealing its offerings, and to have seen to it that he was thereafter scourged every night by supernatural means. A more serious version appears in the historical epitome *Historiarum Philippicarum et Totius Mundi Originum* (etc.), compiled by Lucian's contemporary Justin from the Macedonian history by the Augustan Trogus Pompeius. In xx, 2, we are told that when an image of Minerva was demolished by the youths of Metapontus during their sack of Siris, their city was thereafter visited by pestilence and seditions. The Classical repertory includes also the idea of punishment for a wrong committed not against the god himself, or his image, but against one of his partisans. Theocritus' idyll xxiii has to do with a youth whose coldness drove a would-be lover to suicide, and who in turn was killed when a statue of Eros leapt upon him in the bath.[16] This naively direct penalty – the use of the statue itself as a kind of executioner's club – appears, by the way, in at least two other well-known stories;[17] and represents, again, an intimacy of contact between the divine and human worlds that could not have survived translation into Buddhist terms. The various Chinese conceptions of divine punishment that we have met have all had a more dignified indirectness (like the revenge taken by the Minerva of Siris).

It may be worth pointing out that a fairly close Classical parallel exists to the curious detail in my Chin entry 19, where the hero of the story picks his own "image of the meditating prince" out of ten identical replicas. A post-Homeric episode in the *Iliad* cycle, as retold by the Augustan mythographer Conon, shows us Odysseus and Diomedes setting out to steal the Trojan Palladium. They were momentarily baffled by

[12] Pausanias, iv, 13, 1 (translation by W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod, London and New York, 1926, II, p. 243).

[13] *Life of Otho:* in Clough's translation, V, pp. 353–354. Also "The Pythian Goddess" in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, ed. by W. G. Goodwin, Boston, 1898, III, pp. 75–76.

[14] So Plutarch's *Otho*, in Clough's V, p. 354; Dio Cass., li, 61; liv, 7; and lxxix, 10 (Foster, II, p. 305; IV, p. 110; and VI, p. 10, respectively).

[15] Translation by H. W. and F. G. Fowler, Oxford, 1905, III, pp. 239–241, "The Liar."

[16] Translation by A. S. F. Gow, Cambridge (England), 1950, p. 181.

[17] Aristotle in his "Poetics" tells that the statue of a murdered man named Mitys slew the assassin, in turn, by falling on him at a festival (translation by J. Hardy, Paris, 1932, p. 43). See also the story of Theogenes retailed by Dio Chrysostom, xxxi, 96, in "the Rhodian Oration" (translation by J. W. Cohoon and H. L. Crosby, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1940, p. 101). The same tale reappears in Pausanias, vi, 11, 2–9.

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the fact that it was kept in the midst of a great number of identical copies; but like the Chinese, who was visited and given advice by his statue in a dream, they succeeded because the Palladium revealed its own identity by moving in a preternatural manner.[18]

If these similarities indicate an actual affiliation between the image lore of the Classical West and that of early Buddhist China, the connecting link must of course have been furnished by the "Romano-Buddhist" art of Gandhāra. For the latter, no such densely-woven literary background remains; so that only a few scattered hints can be picked up to show that there too images were imagined as aware of their human environment, and capable of action when the need arose. The most generous source of such stories is, as usual, Hsüan-tsang. We learn from his travel record, for example, that in the vicinity of the huge Kaniṣka *stūpa* at Puruṣapura "there is a Buddha image of white stone, eighteen feet tall . . . which works many supernatural manifestations. Often it emits light; and at times people have seen it set out by night to walk around the great *stūpa*. Recently a band of robbers planned to break in and steal. The image came out to meet them; at which they made off in a panic, and it returned to his place, to stand there as before."[19] He notes of several other celebrated statues, both Buddhist and Hindu, in the vicinity that they work marvels. As if to demonstrate for us the march of ideas from west to east along the old silk highway, again, he shows us three widely separated, wonder-working statues of the Lokapāla of the North, Vaiśrāvaṇa. At Khotan we find the god coming to the aid of his chief worshipper, a childless king, by giving birth to a baby from his image's forehead.[20] At Balkh a wealthy royal monastery was guarded by a Vaiśrāvaṇa figure that shortly before the pilgrim's arrival had warded off a raiding horde of Turks, by appearing in threatening guise to their leader in a dream.[21] At Kapiśa, in a similar situation, the guardian statue is said to have given the alarm when a bird that formed part of its headgear began to flap its wings and cry out.[22]

Hsüan-tsang, incidentally, provides us with a typical example of the "preternatural immobility" formula in the account he gives of a particularly splendid Buddha figure found at the town of "Po-chia-i" west of Khotan. The statue's first home had been Kashmir; it had been acquired there, peacefully, by a Central Asian king. "He brought it home in all reverence with his army; when the image reached this spot, it could not be moved any farther, so a monastery was erected aound it."[23]

With reference to the mobility of *stories* of the marvellous, it may be noted that Hsüan-tsang's most picturesque tale about the Khotan region repeats, in greater detail but with only minor variations, an incident reported by Herodotus (ii, 141) from the Assyrian king Sennacharib's campaign against Egypt. In both cases the overwhelming threat of invasion was countered by a host of rodents, who gnawed away so much of the enemy's paraphernalia that they found themselves helpless in battle. Herodotus' story ends:

"And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: 'Look on me, and fear the gods.'"[24]

In like manner Hsüan-tsang concludes by recording that the Khotanese monarch in his gratitude to the rodents erected a temple where wor-

[18] Quoted by the 9th century Byzantine churchman and antiquarian Photius, cod. 186.

[19] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 880b; Beal's translation, I, p. 103.

[20] See note 73 to the preceding chapter, and p. 240.

[21] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 872b; Beal's translation, I, p. 44.

[22] In the same texts, pp. 874a and 59.

[23] In the same texts, pp. 944a and II, pp. 314–315. Most of the Central Asian statues mentioned by Hsüan-tsang had shown the opposite attribute of preternatural mobility by flying to their sites from somewhere else.

[24] As translated for the Loeb series by A. D. Goodley, London and New York, 1931, p. 449.

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ship could be offered them; and that ever since they have been held in the highest honor.[25]

To emphasize the unlikelihood that the Chinese reinvented all these wonders for themselves, it may be worth while examining briefly the one perfect test case furnished by Chinese art in its pre-Buddhist phase. The most famous early images were the twelve "giants" that were cast in bronze under the Ch'in, in 221 B.C., to signalize the unification of the realm.[26] Inherited by the Han, these stood throughout that dynasty as one of its most impressive demonstrations of power: colossal figures in barbarian dress, variously described as being from three to four times the height of a man. In them animation showed itself, so to speak, in the bud. In 53 B.C. they testified to the general well-being of the time by growing hair an inch long.[27] (It is a curious reversal that made this same portent a sign of approaching disaster, in my Wei entry 30. Perhaps the original moral had been obscured by a new one imported with Buddhism; and so we may note that one of the prodigies noted by Plutarch as foretelling the downfall of Hiero was the fact that the face of his stone statue was found to be covered over by a growth of thorny weeds.)[28]

In the interregnum at the beginning of the Christian era the "giants" were seen changing their positions in a nightmare, by the usurper Wang Mang.[29] Under other circumstances all of this might have blossomed into a spectacular legend. The twelve must have stood for the divisions of the compass, and so summed up the nations of the outer world who by natural law owed allegiance to the Chinese emperor. Presumably they were shown kneeling, and thus any sign that they were changing that pose was a forecast of rebellion. One thinks naturally of the story that seems to have been told in Europe as early as the eighth century A.D., of the seventy bronze statues of foreign nations that stood on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, each with a bell around its neck to sound a warning of unrest, when the statue stirred in sympathy.[30] The Han Chinese, in contrast, though they were superstitious enough about other matters and kept a section of their dynastic history open for a record of natural prodigies, seem to have treated their colossi chiefly as monuments. They were one of the great sights of the court, always mentioned in descriptions of *mirabilia;* but through the long, shameful disintegration of the house of Han and its final collapse, even at the moment of humiliation when ten of them were hauled away and melted down to make currency for a warlord, they seem to have remained inert metal. Only one book sounds in a postscript the note that one looks for elsewhere in vain; and that was written so late — presumably in the latter half of the fourth century — that it may well have incorporated some of the novel ideas brought in with Buddhism. In A.D. 237, when the Wei kingdom had been established out of the ruins of the northern Han domain, an attempt was made to cart off the last two "giants" to the new capital, Lo-yang. Then at last they wept.[31]

I have failed to pay any special attention to one of the most frequently mentioned of the Chinese Buddhist portents, the emission of light, because it belongs more intimately than any other to the pattern of Mahāyāna. The ability to radiate a supernatural light was transferred directly and naturally to the image from its divine original, probably first in the West. As we have seen,

[25] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 944a, b; Beal's translation, II, pp. 315 to 316.

[26] Ōmura, pp. 34–35, summarizes information provided by a number of sources.

[27] *Ch'ien Han Shu*, xxv, p. 2r.

[28] From "the Pythian Goddess," pp. 75–76 in Goodwin's translation.

[29] *Ch'ien Han Shu*, xcix, p. 6v.

[30] F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (English translation by A. Hamilton), London, 1895, III, p. 52.

[31] This detail is given in the *Han Chin Ch'un Ch'iu*, an unofficial history by one Hsi Tsao-ch'ih, which has been preserved only in fragmentary form.

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Hsüan-tsang's eighteen-foot statue at Puruṣapura was described as becoming luminous periodically; and the same claim was made for the colossal Maitreya in Darel.[32]

In the background of most of our miraculous discoveries of images lie motives that the reader can with reasonable confidence reconstruct in general outline: propaganda enthusiasm, or ambition for the prestige of a temple, or perhaps merely knowledge of the success of a similar experiment elsewhere. In one case enough of the attendant circumstances are known to permit the picture to be sketched in somewhat more definite outlines.

Sung entry 1 tells of a gilded image – later called a Dīpaṁkara Buddha – that was found by the Master of Works, Wang Mi; was dispatched by him to the palace, by order of the first Sung Emperor; and that finally was given a home in the metropolitan monastery of Wa-kuan-ssu. To this simple outline, as we have seen, Tao-hsüan adds an unctuous comment: "The Sung founder, who had previously been rather lukewarm in his faith, on receiving it became more reverent, and waited on it personally in joyful enlightenment."

A much better known portent connected with the Sung founder is discussed in the chapter on prodigies (xxvii) in the Sung history, and retold in greater detail in the *Kao Seng Chuan*'s biography of one of the major participants, the monk Hui-i.[33] In evaluating the story, one must remember the general course of Liu Yü's career.[34] In the last decades of the Chin regime he was an increasingly outstanding figure. His military genius had showed itself early in the fifth century in successful campaigns against rebels; and reached a climax in the spectacular northward push of 417 that recaptured the long-lost ancient capital, Ch'ang-an. His successes gave him sufficient confidence and power to cause the Emperor An to be murdered in 419. The last remaining prince of the Chin house, whom he thereupon elevated to the throne as Kung Ti, reigned at the marshal's pleasure; and when a convenient time arrived, abdicated meekly a few months later. In this step by step advance toward the throne, Liu Yü seems to have shown himself to be as prudent as he was bold and unscrupulous. He must have understood clearly the problems that faced an usurper: and particularly the need to enlist public opinion on his side, so that a shift in loyalty from one government to another could take place with no more than a minimum of disorder. The portent that I have mentioned was in one sense merely a repetition of a device that had been used many times before, to smooth the way for a new dynasty by pretending that Heaven itself had changed sides. As we shall see, however, its "style" was up-to-date in a novel way: for the first time in Chinese history it was designed to take advantage of the potential power of the Buddhist Church.

I shall tell the story by piecing together the two accounts. The sequence of events began with a certain monk, Fa-ch'eng of Chi-chou – presumably Honan north of the Yellow River – who on his deathbed called his disciple for a final message. What he said was that the exalted spirit of Mount Sung – the sacred Central Peak, in Honan – had told him that there was in the southeast a General Liu, a descendant of the Han house, who was destined to receive the Celestial Mandate to rule. He went on to explain that he had "thirty-two jade rings and a sheet of trading gold to give to the general as a token." The Sung history version has it that the disciple passed on this secret to a certain Hui-i. In the latter's life we find the "Prince of Sung" pleading with the monk to undertake a search in person; for "an extraordinary portent requires an extraordinary

[32] See below, p. 268.

[33] *Sung Shu*, xxvii, p. 12r, and *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 368c (from vii). A summary of the story is given by Tsukamoto in his "Ch'en's Ascendancy to Power," *Tōhō Gakuho* (Kyōto), 1950, pp. 1–2.

[34] Summarized in Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1031, 1037ff.

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man for its fulfilment." Hui-i thereupon travelled to Mount Sung, and at first had no success in finding any trace of the token. With all his heart, therefore, he burned incense and performed the ritual circumambulation for a full week. On the last night he had a dream in which he saw an old man with a staff, who led him to the spot where the treasure had been hidden. On the morrow he scoured the mountainside until he found the spot he had seen in his dream. The rings and the sheet of gold were found under the stone altar-platform in the shrine of the mountain god. This event took place in the seventh month of 417, it is said. After it, as the biography innocently adds, "Hui-i returned to the capital, where [the future] Sung Wu [Ti] treated him with an even greater respect."

The Liang anthology *Hung Ming Chi*, xi, treats briefly of another instance in which divine approval — this time exclusively Buddhist — was said to have revealed itself at the time of Liu Yü's assumption of power. "When His Imperial Majesty Wu of the Sung first ascended the imperial throne, he dreamed that a monk with a begging-bowl was asking alms of him, and saying: 'My Lord in an earlier age gave generously to the Buddha Vipaśyin, and that is why he now finds himself on the throne.'"[35]

The finding of the Dīpaṁkara image looks as if it were part of the same pattern of propaganda, intended to demonstrate the new direction taken by Heaven's favor. The mention of Wang Mi is a troublesome feature in the story, since he died in 407, while the text suggests that he was still alive when Liu Yü had become Emperor. I believe that his name was introduced in a subsequent generation, when the dates of his life had been forgotten, simply because he was known to have occupied a conspicuous place in the usurper's career. His own biography tells that he was the first to appreciate Yü's potentialities, when he was a high minister and the other was a nameless commoner: he is quoted as prophesying that his client would certainly become the great hero of the day. This early patronage stood him in such good stead that he survived the dishonor of having served the usurper Huan Hsüan in 403–404 (though the memory of this folly left him uneasy for the rest of his life).[36]

The Sung chapter on prodigies adds a picturesque detail to the relationship between the two men. Liu Yü as a youth is said to have been on his way home for a holiday when he stopped at an inn. On the invitation of an old maidservant he went into a room where wine was set out, and drank enough to fall asleep. A client of Wang Mi's happened to put up at the same inn, and received the same invitation to drink "with Master Liu." He emerged in a fright, saying that he had found in the room "no Master Liu but a parti-colored thing like a scaly dragon." In time he passed this revelation on to Mi, who swore him to a strict secrecy.[37] (It was perhaps this anecdote, associating the Master of Works with an early forecast of Liu Yü's imperial future, that won him inclusion in the Dīpaṁkara image story.)

If one factor behind the alleged discovery was an usurper's need for favorable portents, the other may well have been an abbot's ambitious scheming for his monastery. In the keen competition for patronage that must have existed among the big metropolitan temples, a long early lead had probably been taken by Ch'ang-kan-ssu through its spectacular share in earlier miraculous finds. If we are to believe Liu Sa-ho's "biography," the gilded Aśokan image discovered by Kao Li had been taken there (because it could be hauled nowhere else) as early as around 330. The place had attracted enough favorable attention thereafter so that the pious Emperor Chien Wen (r. 371–372) had thought

[35] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 71c.
[36] *Chin Shu*, lxv, p. 6r, v.
[37] *Sung Shu*, xxvii, p. 12r, v.

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it good to donate an imperial pagoda. When the pilgrim Liu Sa-ho had been inspired to excavate under the same tower and had found an Aśokan reliquary, to match the statue, the prestige of Ch'ang-kan-ssu must have risen to a very high level.[38] The rival establishment at Wa-kuan-ssu had enjoyed no such advantages under the Chin. It had been founded in the mid 360's by an energetic beggar-monk, Hui-li, who must have devoted all his energies to building up its fortunes since his biography records nothing else. He and his successors had been enterprising enough to employ the most distinguished artists of his time, the painter Ku K'ai-chih and the sculptor Tai Yung (Sung entry 1). Their aggressive policies apparently began to attract imperial attention in the last decades of the Chin. When its pagoda was destroyed by a spontaneously-arising fire in 396, the then Emperor is said to have interpreted the disaster as a evil presage for the state, and to have ordered its immediate rebuilding.[39] An Ti thought highly enough of Wa-kuan-ssu to transfer the Sinhalese jade Buddha there, presumably around 415; and his successor, the *fainéant* Kung Ti, seems to have accorded the temple his personal favor, since as we have seen he ordered a colossal image cast for it, and took part in the procession that honored its arrival (Chin entries 18, 23). In spite of all this Wa-kuan-ssu could boast no particular signs of divine favor. The best that its protagonists could do to match the Ch'ang-kan-ssu legends was to claim that when their first pagoda site had been selected, the marker kept moving eastward every night a dozen paces or so, until in the end they accepted its choice rather than their own.

We may assume, therefore, that the auspicious appearance of the Dīpaṁkara statue was contrived by the Wa-kuan-ssu authorities, when the time seemed to them most propitious. In order to allay suspicion, the find was attributed to a layman who had no connection with the temple (as had been done in the case of the Ch'ang-kan-ssu miracle). As I have suggested, it was probably at a later date that this role was assigned to Wang Mi. The one detail in which the Wa-kuan-ssu scheme differed strikingly from its predecessor was the insertion of the Emperor as a pious worshipper of the statue, in a novel second act. I know no evidence that would make it possible to decide whether the Sung founder acted as an accomplice or as a dupe, or as a mixture of the two. At least one may imagine that the part he had played in the recovery of the token from Mount Sung persuaded the Wa-kuan-ssu directorate that he would not be unsympathetic to a second miracle.

So far as we may judge from the sparse evidence that remains, the Dīpaṁkara discovery worked to the advantage of both parties. The temple probably won for a time the special favor of the imperial house; as we have learned in Sung entry 26, the benefactions of a later monarch, Hsiao Wu Ti (r. 454–464) made it "foremost among the 480 temples." On the other side, we have the testimony of Wang Yen, written a half century or so after the occurrence, that "the gilded [image], all dirt and slime as it was, proved able to enlarge the good fortune of the Sung [house from] P'eng" (Sung entry 30).

To this chapter may be appended an Chinese anecdote that tells of the vengeance exacted by a secular image (and so presumably demonstrates the spread of such ideas beyond the limits of Buddhism). The biography of the T'o-pa Prince of Nan-an, Yüan Chen, concludes:[40]

"In the fifth month of [496] he went to Yeh [in Honan, having been appointed provincial governor]. On the day he began his administrative duties, there was a violent storm, in which several tens of persons were frozen to death. There followed a drought, during which he prayed for rain to all the deities concerned. In

[38] See p. 9.
[39] From Hui-li's biography in *Kao SC*, xiii, p. 410a.

[40] *Wei Shu*, xix, 3, p. 1v; *Pei Shih*, xviii, p. 7r.

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Yeh city there was a shrine to Shih Hu, which attracted general worship. Chen gave notice to Hu's spirit-image that if in three days there were still no rain, it would be whipped in punishment. He [went on] begging for rain without any result, and so ended by having the image given a hundred lashes. That same month boils broke out on his back, and he died."

(We have met the barbarian monarch Shih Hu in Minor Northern States' entries 1 and 2; and the theme of divine punishment by boils in Three Kingdoms' entry 1 and Liang entry 2).

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V.

MATERIALS AND SIZES

Materials:

The following list will give an idea of the occurrence of the various artistic media among my entries.

As explained in the Introduction, I have in almost every case translated the character *chin* (standing for metal generally, or for gold) as "gilded," implying thereby gilding on bronze. I have reserved "gold" for the few cases in which the text strongly implies or explicitly states that the image was cast in that metal, rather than in bronze.

A lengthier digression will be necessary to explain the reasoning that has led me to distinguish — hesitantly — between "gold-plated" and "gold-leaf." Two Chinese phrases are involved in the problem, both pronounced *chin po* with the same tones.[1] The first, which lies behind my "gold-plated," might be literally rendered "gold thin." The primary meaning of the other might be expressed by "gold screen"; the *po* used here, written with the bamboo radical, means first of all a bamboo hanging. It is this second combination that has come to be the standard way of conveying the idea of gold leaf. Now in the late Six Dynasties period it seems clear that both homophones could have that same sense. There are, for example, two variant accounts of the foreign image sent to the abbot Tao-an by the Northern monarch Fu Chien (Chin entry 11): the first phrase is used in the *Ming Seng Chuan*, and the second in the *Kao Seng Chuan*. I have found one other Liang dynasty use of the first *chin po* that points unmistakably to a paper-thin substance like gold leaf: the "Record of Annual Observances in Ching and Ch'u" contains the sentence:

"On the seventh day of the first month people either trim colored cloth or cut out *chin po* to make figurines, which they paste onto screens."[2]

On the other hand, I believe that it can be demonstrated that the first *chin po* could be employed in a more general sense to indicate any relatively thin piece of gold. We know from Sung entry 10 that a sixteen-foot gilded image made by a pious monk was equipped, by order of the Emperor Wen (r. 424—453), with a round nimbus of *chin po*. The fact would not have been worth noting had the halo been anything but a solid gold plate. What I am sure was meant to be the same phrase (though the *po* is written in a slightly different way,[3] perhaps by inadvertence) appears in the Sui dynasty translation of the "Royal *Sūtra* of the Great Collection of Parables." There one finds mention of a man who takes a *chin po* — certainly a sheet of gold — to a goldsmith to have an armlet made from it.[4]

The point at issue is the proper interpretation to give to the first *chin po* as it is used to describe three foreign images: Fu Chien's gift to Tao-an; the ten-foot statue obtained in the West by the

[1] See Quotations, U.

[2] Quoted from the rhyming dictionary *P'ei Wen Yün Fu*. For the source, see Minor Beings, note 9.

[3] See Quotations, V.

[4] Nanjio's no. 78, the *Ta Chi P'i-yu Wang Ching*, translated by Jñanagupta: *Daizōkyō*, XIII, no. 422. I have taken the quotation from a collection of scriptural references to the practise of the arts in Ōno G., *Bukkyō Bijutsu*, Tōkyō, 1926, p. 39.

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pilgrim Seng-piao (Sung entry 16); and the great Maitreya colossus at Darel (Appendix). I believe that in these cases the phrase was intended to indicate a thin but substantial skin of gold, hammered or cast into shape over a utilitarian core: the technique that until the sixth century B.C. or so must have been very widespread in Greece, Egypt, and the Near East, and that reached its Western climax in the chryselephantine statues of Pheidias. One argument I shall return to again in the Appendix in discussing the huge Darel Maitreya in greater detail.[5] The chief Chinese witnesses to its splendor speak of its material in different ways. It is the earliest, Pao-yün, who mentions *chin po;* the others all talk of sandalwood. This same dichotomy must have existed in the case of the gigantic statue of similar dimensions at Bāmiyān, which we know as stone, but which Hsüan-tsang describes as: "a standing Śākyamuni of brass, a hundred feet tall or more; its body being subdivided into separately cast [pieces], which were fitted together when it was constructed."[6]

A second point to be emphasized is the fact that whereas the first *chin po* is in all three cases used alone to describe the statue, as if it were the primary material, the other phrase is used in at least two of its clearest instances merely as a modifier for an image whose material has already been named. Our source here is the Northern Wei pilgrim Sung Yün. In the kingdom of Khotan he saw a gilded image, *chin hsiang*, that worked miracles of healing. Its curative powers were stimulated by pasting the second *chin po* — here certainly gold-leaf — to whatever part of its body corresponded to the place where the suppliant felt pain. Again at the old Gandhāran capital of Puruṣapura he found a temple with a great many stone images, "very beautifully adorned... their bodies covered with *chin po*, so that they dazzled the observers' eyes."[7]

I believe, therefore, that the three foreign applications of the first *chin po* indicate a common sculptural technique native to the West. The fact that the *Kao Seng Chuan* replaces one of these by the second *chin po* I can explain only as a misguided attempt at textual improvement. The author had never seen the statue in question, or perhaps any example of the gold-plate technique, and presumably was trying to replace an old-fashioned character by a more specific and easily understandable one.

It may be noticed in passing that the first *chin po* appears elsewhere in the *Kao Seng Chuan* in a context that suggests gold-leaf: my Liang entry 4 telling of a colossal stone statue whose chest was not gilded, so that a supernatural red mark that had appeared there might be preserved.[8]

I do not know any textual evidence that shows how the Chinese sculptors of the Six Dynasties applied their gold-leaf to a stone core; perhaps they had learned to use the same white of egg as an adhesive that is recommended in Pliny's "Natural History" (xxxiii, 20). That they employed an amalgam of mercury in gilding their bronzes, in something like the way Pliny describes (xxxiii, 20, 32) may be inferred from the methodical records kept by the Japanese in making their colossal Daibutsu at Nara, in the mid eighth century; there mercury is listed, along with copper, tin, and bronze, as the chief ingredients.[9]

Northern Wei entry 7, describing the manufacture of a colossal Śākyamuni of gilded bronze,

[5] See below, p. 270.

[6] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 873b; Beal's translation, I, p. 51.

[7] In the same texts, pp. 1018c, 1021a; and I, lxxxvi, cii, respectively.

[8] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 412b. One reading of the text provides still another close variant for *po;* see Quotations, W. One more way of referring to gold leaf appears in Wei Dynasties entry 10; in restoring the damaged original statue the Sui craftsmen are said to have applied to their new lacquered exterior "yellow gold 87000 thin material, *po-liao*." See Quotations, X.

[9] See Katori H., "On the Materials used in Casting the Tōdaiji Daibutsu," *Nara*, X, 1928 (special number on the cultural history of the Tempyō period), pp. 209ff. (in Japanese).

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provides the only Six Dynasties evidence known to me for the quantitative relationship between the metals used; the gold supplied reached 0.6% of the bronze.

Gold:
Chin: entry 14; Sung: entries (23), 36; South Ch'i: entries 3, 5; Liang: entries 2, 10; Wei: entry 3.

Gold-plated:
Chin: entry 11; Sung: entries (10), 16.

Gold-leaf:
Chin: entry 11; Liang: entry 4; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 5.

Gilded Bronze:
Han: entries 2, 3; 3 Kingdoms: entry 2; Chin: entries 2, 3, 11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 30; Sung: entries 1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, 20, (23), 26, 29, 30, 32, 34, 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53; South Ch'i: entries 1, 5; Liang: entries 3, (4), (5), 8, 14, 16, 21; Ch'en: entries 1, 6; Minor North: entries 3, 4, 5, 8; Wei: entries 1, 3, 5, 7, (9), 14, 24, 28, 30, 34, 35; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 3; Inscriptions.

Silver:
Sung: entry 37; South Ch'i: entry 5; Liang: entries 2, 16; Wei: entries 3, 24.

Iron:
Inscriptions: 10.

Brass:
Sung: entry 31.

Jade:
Chin: entry 18; Sung: entries 1, (23), 31; South Ch'i: entry 11; Liang: entry 18; Ch'en: entry 3; Inscriptions: 10.

Stone:
Chin: entries 4, 24; Sung: entries (16), 28, (30); South Ch'i: entries 2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14; Liang: entries (3), 4; Minor North: entry 11; Wei: entries 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 29, 31; North Ch'i, Chou: entries 1, 2, 3, 4, 12; Inscriptions.

Sandalwood:
Han: entry (1); Sung: entries 23, (30), 35; South Ch'i: entries 3, (5), 6, 8; Liang: entries 5, 11, 16; Minor North: entries 2, 9; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 6.

Wood:
Chin: entries 10, 15; Sung: entries 22, (30); South Ch'i: entry 5; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 5.

Lacquer:
Chin: entry 15; Sung: entry 15; Liang: entry 21; Ch'en: entry 4; Wei: entry 25; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 9.

Clay:
Chin: entry 6; Sung: entries 18, 31; Minor North: entry 11; Wei: entries 3, 12, 15, 29; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 11.

Ivory:
Liang: entries 12, 13, 17.

Coral:
Liang: entry 1.

Pearls:
Chin: entries 11, 21; South Ch'i: entry 9; Wei: entries 24, 26.

Embroidery:
Chin: entry 11.

Weaving:
Chin: entry 11; South Ch'i: entry 7; Wei: entries 7, 24; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 6.

Paintings:
Han: entry 1; Chin: entries (3), (11), 15, (18), 21, 25–29, 32; Sung: entries 13, 14, 21, 38, 42–46, 50; South Ch'i: entries 5, 15–17; Liang: entries 5, 22–29; Wei: entries 4, 5, 15, 24, 32–33; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 13; Inscriptions: 9, 10.

Sizes of Images:

Over eighteen *chih* feet:
Sung: entries (23), (30), 31 (?); South Ch'i: entries 13, 14; Liang: entries 3, 4, 16; Ch'en: entry 4; Wei: entries 6, 7, 14, 18; North Ch'i, Chou: entries 2 (?), 5, 6, 12 (?).

Eighteen *chih* feet:
Chin: entries 11, 32; Sung: entries 2, 4, 32; South Ch'i: entry 6; Liang: entries 3, 16, 21;

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Ch'en: entry 5; Wei: entries 24, 29; North Ch'i, Chou: entries 3, 4.

Sixteen *chih* feet:

Chin: entries 9, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23; Sung: entries (1), 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 34; Ch'en: entry 6; Minor North: entries (5), 9, 11; Wei: entries 5, 13, 20; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 6.

Life-sized:

Wei: entries 5, 24; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 6.

Odd-sized:

Chin: entries 2, 4, 11, 16, 18; Sung: entries 1, 16, 29, 32, 34; South Ch'i: entry 10; Liang: entries (3), 5; Minor North: entries 3, 8; North Ch'i, Chou: entry 3.

Under one foot:

Chin: entry 34; Sung: entries 30, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53; South Ch'i: entry 9; Liang: entry 17; Ch'en: entry 3; Wei: entries 30, 35 (?).

The easiest of these dimensions to explain is the sixteen *chih*. The measure used in the beginning was presumably that of the Wei kingdom or the Chin dynasty (when the problem of the Buddha's height was first posed for Chinese translators), equivalent to about 0.24 meters or some 9.5 English inches.[10] In our terms, then, the image was intended to be something over twelve feet high, or approximately twice the size of a tall man. (The Chinese of the period were very conscious of well-built male bodies; Six Dynasties' biographies often note that their subject was "eight *chih* tall"). It is just this proportion that is specified in the list of thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* given in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama*, or "Long Sermons," i, in connection with the Buddhas of the past and so also with Śākyamuni: "The Buddha's height is twice that of a man."[11]

It is interesting to note in this connection that the statement belongs only to the northern branch of Buddhist tradition, and was doubtless formulated at a relatively late date, when the supernaturalization of the Buddha concept had removed it from close contact with everyday human experience; the *Dīrghāgama* was translated in the early years of the fifth century. In the corresponding, but certainly earlier passage in the Pāli version of the "Long Sermons," the *Dīghanikaya*, xiv, the entirely different and more normal claim is made that the Buddha's body had the symmetry of a banyan tree: i.e. that His height was equal to the spread of His extended arms.[12]

None of the Chinese pilgrims, indeed, record having seen a sixteen-foot image in India proper. Fa-hsien speaks of King Aśoka's having built a standing image of that height at Sāṅkāśya, at the site where Śākyamuni descended the staircase from Heaven. But the figure was apparently no longer in existence in his day, and his description of it — like his account of the whole miraculous episode — may conceivably have been borrowed from some text available to him in China, when his travel record was put in final order.[13] The same comment may be made about Hsüan-tsang's story of the skeptical Brāhman, an Indian "doubting Thomas," who tried to measure Śākyamuni's body with a sixteen-foot pole.[14]

On the other hand, Hsüan-tsang on three occasions refers to an Indian statue as being "equal in measurements to the Buddha's body."[15] Here it is natural to assume that he quoted information

[10] Communicated by Mizuno S. in a letter of August 28, 1955, based on researches by Uchida G.

[11] *Daizōkyō*, I, p. 5b. For the list of *lakṣaṇas*, and their equivalents in other scriptural sources (which in sum are very far from standardization) see the study of Indian iconography by Hemmi B., *Indo ni okeru Raihai-zō no Keishiki Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1935, table opp. p. 48.

[12] In the chapter *Mahā Padhāna Suttanta;* translation by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha (SBE*, III), London, 1910, p. 15.

[13] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 859c; Beal's translation, I, p. xl. In discussing the same site two and a half centuries later, Hsüan-tsang speaks of a stone image, but cites no dimensions; in the same texts, pp. 893b, and I, 202.

[14] In the same texts, pp. 920a, and II, 145.

[15] In the same texts, pp. 905b, 921b, 929c, and II, 46, 153, 215. Elsewhere he describes a fourth statue as being "equal in measurements to the body of the king," [Sīlāditya]; pp. 895a, and I, 218.

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given him by a guide; and to see in this description a tradition ignorant of any single, fixed dimension. The other images for which he records heights were of widely varying sizes. Some were colossi like those of Bāmiyān and Darel, while two had the more modest scale of thirty *chih;* several ranged between six and ten *chih*. For three figures only does he give the dimensions familiar in Chinese practise, and all of these were northwest frontier works, outside of India by his own geographical definition. On the staircase of the huge Kaniṣka *vihāra* at Peshawar he locates a painted icon of sixteen *chih* (the extraordinary figure with two torsos). A short distance away from the tower there was a standing Buddha of white stone, eighteen *chih* tall; and he records among the pious works of the king of Kapiśa the annual manufacture of a silver Buddha, also of eighteen *chih*.[16] It may be noted that the variation between sixteen and eighteen recalls that authorized in the "*Sūtra* on Visualizing Amitayus," which was very likely a literary product of the same general region.[17]

One cannot be certain, of course, what actual dimensions Hsüan-tsang intended to convey by these last figures. The official *chih* measure of the T'ang dynasty was much longer than the Chin standard, being almost the equivalent of the English foot. A "fine figure of a man" in T'ang terms would have been six *chih* tall, instead of eight. It is conceivable that Hsüan-tsang's northwest frontier statues may have been designed to triple the ideal human scale. I think it more likely, however, that the old formula of double size was maintained, along with the time-honored numerals (which thus acquired a special, archaic sense). The point cannot be proved, since virtually all the extant Buddhist images in the Far East fall well below even the Chin "sixteen-foot" standard. One good argument, at least, is furnished by the three main statues of the Kondō of Tōshōdaiji in Nara, which were executed in the latter half of the eighth century with an obvious intention to reproduce as accurately as possible what the Chinese missionaries who supervised the work understood to be correct Church usage. The central figure is seated, while the flanking ones stand; with no more than a few inches' variation, the three heads reach the same height, around twelve English feet. This is true also of the standing main image of the Hokkedō of Tōdaiji, done perhaps a generation earlier. The minor standing figures on the Tōshōdaiji altar, Brahmā, Indra, and the Lokapālas, are approximately half the size of the main triad, i.e. about the height of a tall man.[18]

[16] In the same texts, pp. 880a, 880b, 873c; and I, 102, 103, 55, respectively.

[17] See above, p. 146.

[18] *Tōshōdaiji Ōkagami*, Tōkyō, 1932, I, pp. 3–4, pls. 18–27; *Tōdaiji Ōkagami*, Tōkyō, 1933, II, p. 2, pl. 10. It may be noted also that two Buddhist texts translated under the T'ang say that the Buddha's body measured seven *chou* (Quotations, Y, information quoted from Hemmi's table). This is the character used to translate the Indian *hasta*, which is twice the span of a hand with outstretched fingers. Given the nominal values accepted in Chinese Buddhist literature of the period, the seven *chou* dimension works out at approximately twelve English feet. (The two texts quoted are: Nanjio's no. 159, the *Fang Kuang Ta Chuang-yen Ching*, *Daizōkyō*, III, no. 187; and his no. 265, the *Ta-ch'eng Pai Fu Chuang-yen Hsiang Ching*, *ibid.*, XVI, no. 662). See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 152b, c, under "Itchaku-shu."

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APPENDIX

THE BEST KNOWN INDIAN IMAGES

The material of this appendix will be presented in summary, and with a minimum of foot-note references, so as to avoid a disproportionate lengthening of the book.

The Sandalwood "First Image":

The earliest known version of the story is told in the "Sermons in Ascending Numerical Categories," xxviii.[1] We learn there that the Buddha, at one period after His Enlightenment, ascended to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, to preach to them and to His mother Māyā (who after her early death had been reborn in that state). As His absence from Earth became known, two of His royal converts came to inquire about him, King Prasenajit of Kosalā and King Udyāna of Vatsa. The latter was so deeply distressed that he declared he would die if he could not see the Buddha. In order to console him, it was decided to make a statue; when completed this was of "ox-head" sandalwood, five (Chinese) feet high. On hearing what his rival had done, Prasenajit had a statue of the same height fashioned of gold, to match the color of the Buddha's body. "These were the first two images of the Tathāgata to be made in Jambudvīpa."

After the Buddha had made His spectacular descent to Earth – down the celestial staircase, with Brahmā and Indra as His attendants – and had been welcomed with overwhelming enthusiasm, King Udyāna took the sandalwood image to Him and asked what reward he would gain from having made it.[2] Śākyamuni promised that he would enjoy a life of health and strength, and would in the end be reborn as a Lokapāla.

In dealing critically with this legend, one should begin by noting the general character of its source. The Chinese translation of the *Ekottarāgama*, made in 384–385 by the Tocharian Dharmanandi, goes beyond any of the other sermon collections in fanciful elaboration. It is full of marvellous tales, skilfully woven through the traditional fabric of sermonizing (tales which in almost every case are lacking in its Pāli counterpart, the *Anguttaranikāya)*. The details found are frequently those of early Mahāyāna; obviously the Sanskrit original was re-worked and greatly altered at a relatively late date. Presumably this phase of editing, or an earlier one, took place under the influence of what Przyluski has called "the school of Kosambī."[3] This city, the capital of the kingdom of Vatsa (or Vaṃsa), had apparently been too distant from the Buddha's home-land to have any generous share in His career. With the spread of the Church westward it became an important center, however; and in time it enjoyed the opportunity of enhancing its own reputation by careful revision of the holy books that passed through its *scriptoria*. Kosambī, by this process, was drawn a good deal

[1] *Daizōkyō*, II, pp. 703b, 705b–708b.

[2] For a Gandhāran illustration of this act, see Rowland, "A Note on the Invention of the Buddha Image," *Harvard Jour. of As. Stud.*, XI, 1–2, 1948, pp. 181ff.

[3] Przyluski, *Aśoka*, pp. 68ff., 181–184.

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closer to the Buddha's life-time and the generation that followed. Its great monarch Udyāna, who was in general remembered for his victories and for his passionate interest in women,[4] was transformed into a paragon of generous piety. Udyāna is so far as I know not mentioned in the many other accounts of the Buddha's descent from Heaven, nor is his name likely to be found in references to the great rulers of the day. In the *Ekottarāgama* he is far from being the most frequently mentioned king — the editors were too canny to break violently with well-known traditions; but in one role or another he does appear frequently, and in any situation in which his status might be questioned — a meeting of "the five kings," for example — he is always placed second, next to the universally honored Prasenajit.[5]

One other aspect of the lateness of the *Ekottarāgama* that helps to explain the Udyāna story is its occasionally shown interest in images. One passage (in xxiv) that specifies various ways of guaranteeing a promising future, speaks of "creating a joyful heart in oneself by looking at images of the Buddha."[6] The same sentiment might be found in one of the Mahāyāna *kuan sūtras;* and this acceptance of the importance of icons must have been a critical factor in deciding the direction in which King Udyāna's passionate devotion should be exercised.

The "*Sūtra* of the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy," vi, which as we know was translated by Buddhabhadra at Nanking some time between 398 and 421, repeats the legend in an even more fanciful way.[7] Now King Prasenajit has disappeared, and the single hero is Udyāna, who has an image cast in gold. Borne by an elephant to the place where Śākyamuni was descending the triple stair from Heaven, it dismounted just as if it had been a real Buddha, walked in the air while flowers rained from under its feet and rays of light were emitted; and so welcomed its double. The Tathāgata *knelt* with clasped hands in front of it, as did all the 100,000 phantom Buddhas who had accompanied His descent. To it Śākyamuni in person prophesied: "In future you will work great feats for Buddhism. After my Nirvāṇa, it is to you that my disciples will be entrusted." The phantom Buddhas added: "After the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, anyone who makes and installs an image, and worships the same with banners, flowers, and incense, will in the time to come assuredly attain the pure mystic ecstasy of contemplating the Buddha."

The "Sea" sutra's author obviously had no special interest in Kosambī or its long-dead king; as I have suggested, he was likely to have been a native of southeastern Afghanistan.[8] If he knew the *Ekottarāgama* version, he modified it to suit his own taste. An interesting difference is the change of material from sandalwood to gold. Perhaps this reveals no more than the author's complete lack of connection with the cult of the sandalwood figure, and his preference for gold as a more honorable material. On the other hand, as we shall see, a rival legend is likely to have circulated in the South, claiming primacy for Prasenajit's statue; and it may possibly be an echo of this claim that we find — whether garbled through ignorance or improved by intention, it is impossible to say — in the "Sea" *sūtra*'s wording.

The Liang bibliography *Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi*, ii, lists among the scriptures secured in Central India or Ceylon by the pilgrim Fa-hsien, and translated by him after his return to China

[4] On his reign see Radha Kamud Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, Bombay, 1950, p. 184. He is the hero of an opulent romance best known through the mediaeval anthology *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (translated as *The Ocean of Story* by C. Tawney, London, 1924; I, pp. 94ff., II). Contrariwise, the Jains told of him a story exactly like the Buddhist: that he was converted by Mahāvira, and had a statue of the teacher made of sandalwood (so A. Cunningham in *Arch. Surv. of India, Report for* 1871–1872, p. 47, drawing on the Jain *Vira Charitra*, "Tales of the Heroes.")

[5] E. g. *Daizōkyō*, II, pp. 681c, 698b, 707a, 782a, b.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 674b.

[7] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 678b.

[8] See above, p. 185.

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(with the aid of Buddhabhadra), a "Record of the Buddha's Journeying in India."[9] This has long since disappeared as a book, but an excerpt dealing with the Udyāna image has been preserved through a combination of historical accidents. The Japanese monk Chōnen, who made a pilgrimage to China in the early years of Northern Sung, passed through Yang-chou, the then Chinese center of the sandalwood image cult, and secured there a document retailing all the essential information known about the statue. This text, which one of Chōnen's followers copied early in 985, and which in the following year was carried back to Japan along with the copy of the image that Chōnen had secured, begins with a citation of all scriptural evidence.[10] The quotation from the "Record of the Buddha's Journeying" mentions no royal maker but Udyāna, who:[11]

"In his longing for the World-honored One, asked the great disciple Mahā Maudgalyāyana to take thirty-two skilled craftsmen and odorous sandalwood up to the palaces of Heaven, where they carved the thirty-two perfect attributes. [This done], he returned them to the world, and installed [the statue] in the original *vihāra*, [the Jetavana], where there had been no throne for the Buddha. Later, when the World-honored One finally descended from Heaven, the image emerged of itself, bowed its head . . . and stood humbly in attendance on Him. Thereupon the Lord deigned to pat its head, and made for it a prophecy, saying: 'A thousand years after My Nirvāṇa you will be found among the Eastern Hsia [i.e. in China], where you will bring great benefits, far and wide, to men and gods.' When He had spoken, the statue returned to its place. The World-honored One thereupon moved within a small *vihāra* . . . a different one from that occupied by the statue, some twenty paces away."

This is our first mention of an emplacement for the newly made statue. The *Ekottarāgama* version speaks of the erection of a temple at the site of the Buddha's descent, but draws no connection between it and the image. (It should be remembered that Sāṅkāśya, the site of the celestial staircase, and the Jetavana at Śrāvastī were several days journey apart, according to the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims.) As in the "Sea" *sūtra*, the "Record's" story reveals an anxiety to honor the image even at its Master's expense. The mention of "the Eastern Hsia" must represent an interpolation for propaganda purposes in China. The addition is more likely to have been made by the custodians of the sandalwood image cult in later centuries, than by so scrupulous a translator as Fa-hsien.

The Chinese history quotes another source that I have been unable to identify, the "pair of *Sūtras* on Meditating on King Udyāna."[12] There the essentials are the same as in the "Record," except that the prophecy is lacking. We are told finally that "it is at the Jetavana temple, where worship is still being offered to it."

In his travel record Fa-hsien has nothing to say about King Udyāna. He describes a visit to the Jetavana, where he found a lively cult being offered (this in A.D. 400) to an image of ox-head sandalwood which had been carved by command of King Prasenajit. He is silent about the craftsmen's visit to Heaven, but otherwise completes the story much as in the fashion of the record; adding:

"This statue was the very first of all images, and has served as a model for posterity."[13]

Our Liang entry 5 tells of the Liang Emperor Wu's sending a party to Śrāvastī to ask for the gift of the sandalwood image, adding details reminiscent of the "Record"; the name of Udyāna

[9] *Daizōkyō*, LV, p. 12a.

[10] Reprinted in the modern anthology *Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho*, section on pilgrims, *Yūhōden Sōsho*, II, Tōkyō, 1932, pp. 309ff.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 312v.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 312a, b.

[13] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 860b; Beal's translation, I, pp. xliv-xlvl He describes the beauty of the seven-storeyed *vihara*, and tells of a fire that destroyed everything except the small chapel and the statue enshrined therein.

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as maker, and the legend of Maudgalyāyana's carrying the sculptors to Heaven.

To jump to an entirely different region, we find that when the Northern Wei pilgrims Sung Yün and Hui-sheng reached the kingdom of Khotan in 519 they found outside the town of Han-mo an impressive sixteen-foot statue covered with gold leaf, which was widely celebrated in that region for its miraculous cures, and was held to have flown thither "from the South."[14] The area was filled with votive *stūpas*, several thousand in number, and was decked out with a vast number of banners; the majority of these were Northern Wei in origin, with dates around A.D. 500, but one belonged to the Ch'in regime ruled by the house of Yao (384–417). Presumably, therefore, the Han-mo statue became celebrated at least by the latter half of the fourth century. I have made this apparent digression because when Hsüan-tsang reached this same place in 644 the local legend had come to claim that that figure was the original Udyāna image. His diary describes it as "a standing figure some twenty or so feet tall, carved of sandalwood."[15] (Sung Yün had described it by the character *chin*, which may mean "metal," "golden," or "gilded," but perhaps was intended to refer only to the skin of gold leaf.)

Hsüan-tsang's diary contains two other pertinent passages. We know first that he visited Kosambī, as Fa-hsien had not, and that he found there, inside a high *vihāra*, "the Buddha figure carved of sandalwood . . . that was made by King Udyāna. From its divine attributes there arises a supernatural radiance, which from time to time shines forth. The rulers of various lands have sought to carry it off by force; but though many men have tried, they have not been able to move it. In the end they have made representations of it for worship, which are always called authentic; but if one wishes to speak of the original, it is this image here." He continues to tell that Maudgalyāyana by his magic power transported *an* artist to Heaven; and quotes a prophecy of a slightly more specific sort, speaking of the statue's future role in "converting unbelievers, and serving as a leader for future generations."[16]

His account of Śrāvastī speaks of the Jetavana as being in ruins, but as still containing the Buddha image "which King Prasenajit had fashioned at the time when the Buddha ascended into the Heaven of the Thirty-three to preach to His mother, on hearing of the sandalwood figure carved by King Udyāna."[17]

Any attempt to evaluate this conflicting evidence must take into consideration one other Udyāna document, a miniature *sūtra* that deals not with any specific image but instead preaches — through the Buddha's words, addressed to Udyāna as a youth — the immense desirability of image making. A long list of rewards is given for the maker, ranging from the short-term advantage of acquiring "clear eyes and a handsome face" to being reborn in the Brahmā Heaven and finding oneself set firmly on the road to Nirvāṇa. A final goal named is the Paradise of Amitāyus. The important thing about this tract is its apparent early date. It exists in at least two closely similar versions, and one of these is ascribed to the group translated in Late Han (the other is to Eastern Chin).[18] If the attribution is justified (and the text has an early ring) we see that a lively propaganda in favor of image-making had already begun at least by the earlier second cen-

[14] In the same texts, pp. 1018c–1019a, and lxxxvi.

[15] In the same texts, LI, p. 945b, and II, pp. 322–323. In the special biography of the pilgrim compiled by one of his disciples, the height of the statue recorded in the *Daizōkyō* version (L, p. 252a) is again 20 *chih;* while for a reason that I cannot explain Beal's translation *(The Life of Hiuen-tsiang*, London, 1911, p. 211) has 30 feet.

[16] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 898a; Beal's translation, I, p. 235.

[17] In the same texts, pp. 899b and II, p. 4.

[18] The presumed Han version is Nanjio's no. 289, the *Tso Fo Hsing-hsiang Ching: Daizōkyō*, XVI, no. 692. The other (in *ibid.*, no. 693) is Nanjio's no. 290, the *Tsao-li Hsing-hsiang Fu Pao Ching*. Note also that *Fa Yüan CL*, xxxiii, quotes from a text with the same title as the last, but with variant readings *(ibid.*, LIII, pp. 540–541).

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tury A.D. In view of the use made of King Udyāna it is natural to conclude that this enterprise probably centered at Kosambī. The political and artistic conditions of the time make it very likely that in taking such a stand the Kosambī monks were transmitting a new dogma supplied them from the greater city of Mathurā, upstream on the Yamunā, then nearing the peak of its prestige as a Kushan viceregal seat and as the foremost producing center for religious art in north central India. Mathurā had been one of the two foci for the iconic revolution (the other, of course, being Gandhāra). We know that it exported statues, from the remains in Mathuran style at Sārnāth; it must first have exported the arguments required to make the novel images acceptable. The *sūtra* I have just mentioned must reveal a relatively early stage of the propaganda campaign.

The legend of King Udyāna's sandalwood image, which made its first appearance in a Chinese translation some two centuries later, clearly represents a later stage; the withdrawal of the Kushan empire had robbed Mathurā of its preeminence, and it had become possible for Kosambī to claim the leading role for itself.

Presumably the role played in all this by Śrāvastī was a secondary one. The old Kosalā capital, farther removed from Kushan modernism and doubtless better satisfied with its own traditions, must have been relatively slow to adopt the principle of the Buddha image. If Fa-hsien found a sandalwood statue there in 400, and heard the claim that it had been made by King Prasenajit, we may assume that the cult had been established in imitation of Kosambī's. His mention of sandalwood is particularly interesting, since the scriptural authority of the *Ekottarāgama* describes the Śrāvastī royal figure as cast of gold. (That part of the legend we may interpret as a tactful gesture on the part of the Kosambī editors, toward a city that had once been famous but was no longer a serious competitor.) If the Śrāvastī monks received the story in the same version as the Chinese, they seem to have rejected it, in favor of a close imitation of what had probably proved immensely successful at Kosambī.

It should be remembered that no images remain in India to illustrate the iconographic type of the King Udyāna image as we know it in the Far East — in particular, as it is shown by the statue for which the highest claim of authenticity is made, the sandalwood Shaka of Seiryōji in Kyōto.[19] However, if we recognize that the foremost characteristic of the type is the arrangement of the drapery folds as a pattern symmetrically disposed about the vertical axis of the body, we must admit that at least the first step toward its formulation was taken at Mathurā. The seated images of the full-clad Buddha that became popular there toward the end of the second century — by a severe formalization of the Gandhāran fold system — look as the Udyāna type would if it were shown squatting instead of standing.[20] The converse is not true; the one instance known to me of a Mathuran Buddha wearing such drapery departs widely from the Udyāna formula in that the robe falls free of the body in a wide skirt, crossed by a single system of catenaries.[21] Very likely, then, it was only a first step that was taken at Mathurā. To judge from existing remains, the second, which completed the essentials of the Udyāna type — the rendering of the lower part of the robe as if it were clinging closely to the legs — was carried out in Central Asia. The formula is first demonstrated, accurately enough to have served as a model for even the Seiryōji Shaka, in the Guptan-style standing Buddhas ranged around the *stūpa* of Rawak.[22] Doubtless the same scheme was followed in the colossal, miracle-working Buddha statue that was found in the same vicinity by the

[19] See below, p. 265.

[20] See in Van Loohuizen de Leeuw, *Scythian Period*, pp. 184ff., figs. 33, 34, 37, 39, 40.

[21] *Ibid.*, fig. 36.

[22] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, figs. opp. p. 498.

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Chinese pilgrims; perhaps, indeed, it was originated for that figure, which as we have seen had become famous at least by the latter part of the fourth century.

The tale of the Udyāna image in the Far East also opens in Central Asia, with the legendary transportation of the statue to Kucha; not by its own motive power through the air, but by a humbler method. It was taken to Kucha by the distinguished Indian ascetic who was the missionary Kumārajīva's father. A prefatory note to the history of the image that Chōnen acquired in 985 states that in the daytime he carried the statue, while by night it carried him.[23] (The obvious question, "Why?" occurred to the Japanese, and was answered with some ingenuity in the *Seiryōji Engi* of 1515, a condensed account of the statue's past and its cult in Japan. There we learn that the sandalwood figure was removed from India to escape the anti-Buddhist proscription instigated by King Puṣyamitra – whose actual dates are likely to have been 184–149 B.C.)[24]

The story goes on to tell that when the Chinese general Lü Kuang took Kucha in 384, he brought back, as the city's two most precious treasures, Kumārajīva and the image; we have met a reference to this in Minor Northern Dynasties entry 9. When Lü's star set both treasures passed into the hands of his successor, King Yao Hsing of the Later Ch'in, and were duly carried to the latter's capital, Ch'ang-an. The statue alone (Kumārajīva had died) was the supreme acquisition of a third victory, in 417, when a Sung expeditionary column from the south overthrew the Yao dynasty. It is said to have been carried back to the Sung capital, and installed at Lung-kuang-ssu. At this point we can check with my Sung entry 23 (which begins with a fantastic tale proposed by Tao-hsüan to take the place of the Kucha-Kumārajīva story).

The statue stayed at Lung-kuang-ssu, outside Nanking, until the capture of that city by Sui troops entailed the burning of the monastery (in the winter of 588–589). The monk Chu-li, who had already made a reputation for himself as a rebuilder of temples and had begun the restoration of an establishment – then called Ch'ang-lo-ssu – in Yang-chou in Kiangsu, secured permission to remove the Udyāna image from the Lung-kuang-ssu ruins. In 614 he had a copy made in sandalwood from the original, with two added Bodhisattvas. In 623 the original was temporarily abducted by a local war-lord, but after his revolt had been crushed by the T'ang it was returned.

We may note parenthetically that when the Japanese pilgrim-monk Ennin visited Yang-chou in 838, and stayed for some time at the temple – then called K'ai-yüan-ssu – its most celebrated building was still the Sui dynasty "Flying Pavilion," that had been erected by Chu-li. By Ennin's account it had been built to house not one but four sandalwood images of Śākyamuni, which had flown thither from India.[25]

When civil wars broke out toward the end of the T'ang, the temple and its pavilion were burned in 891; a heroic monk rescued the image and carried it off to safety by boat. In 916 it was returned to K'ai-yüan-ssu by order of the Later Liang ruler, and a restoration was begun. Later the prince-founder of the secession state of Southern T'ang, Li Sheng, (r. 937–943), removed it to grace his capital, Nanking. In 970 when the Southern T'ang regime was absorbed by the Northern Sung, it was moved again, this time to K'ai-feng. Its first home there was the great new temple K'ai-pao-ssu; then the document claims that it was taken into the Imperial Palace, to be installed in a so-called "Pavilion of Purple Clouds," and was still being worshipped there when the record was terminated in 984.[26]

[23] *Dainihon BZ, Yūhōden*, II, p. 309a.

[24] *Dainihon BZ*, section on temple histories, *Jishi Sōsho*, I, p. 473a. Cf. the *Cambridge Hist. of India*, I, p. 518, for the historic Puṣyamitra.

[25] *Dainihon BZ, Yūhōden*, I, pp. 179–180; Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 49. His "balcony" is my "pavilion."

[26] *Yūhōden* II, p. 318a.

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The Japanese party, which had expected to find the sandalwood image at Yang-chou, was eventually permitted to see it in 986 in its chapel in the palace. Chōnen ordered a replica made by a master sculptor, and carried it home with him. There it was greatly honored as the "Seiryōji Shaka," and in turn served as the model for copies which were very widely distributed.[27] In time the Japanese persuaded themselves that they possessed the original and not the replica, explaining that the two (which were indistinguishable from each other) had miraculously changed places when the Chinese sculptor's work had been completed.[28]

It may be noted, finally, that the Ch'ing K'ang-hsi emperor erected a temple inside his Forbidden City, as the Sung had done, to house what was then held to be the Udyāna image; and that the latter was in the end carried off to Russia at the time of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.[29]

A critical observation of the sandalwood figure's history in China reveals one important lacuna: there is no mention in Southern records — at a period from which a great many records remain — of its seizure at Ch'ang-an and its subsequent worship outside of Nanking. For any information on this phase of the cult we must turn to the late and always suspect testimony of Tao-hsüan; and he presents us with two contradictory stories, the more detailed of which is quite unbelievable (Sung entry 23; Minor Northern Dynasties entry 9, where he further complicates the problem by referring to Kumārajīva's image as a sixteen-foot one). Perhaps the most plausible explanation, therefore, is that the statue originated with Chu-li's Sui dynasty restoration of the Yang-chou temple. Either it was newly made at the time, or he fabricated an impressive history for a foreign image that he had found somewhere, in the course of his career as a repairer of old temples.

The "Shadow" in the Nāga King's Cave:

The legend of the Buddha's vanquishing a poisonous Nāga and leaving His "shadow" — actually a luminous reflection — in the creature's cave, provided the background for one of the most active cults of the northwest frontier: the incident was supposed to have taken place in the vicinity of the modern village of Hadda, in southeastern Afghanistan.

Several texts refer to the meeting briefly, in connection with an apocryphal tour of the region that Śākyamuni was thought to have made just prior to His entry into Nirvāna. By far the most circumstantial and emphatic account is given in what I have called the "Sea" *sūtra*, whose author shows so special an interest in the theme that he may have been a native of the Hadda area.[30] There we are told that the grotto had first been the lair of five ogresses, Rakṣasī, who transformed themselves into female dragons so that they might couple with a venomous Nāga who lived in the nearby lake. No power, human or divine, availed against their destructiveness and the new evils that they constantly spawned. At

[27] Tanaka Shigehisa's study of Indian-style objects preserved in Japan (*Nihon ni nokoru Indo-kei Bummotsu no Kenkyū*, Ōsaka, 1943) has a chapter on the Seiryōji statue and its many imitations in provincial temples, pp. 125 ff. A key article by Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz, "The Buddha of Seiryōji," *Artibus Asiae*, XIX, 1, 1956, pp. 5 ff., reports on the extraordinary collection of objects found inside the statue when it was opened in 1954: simulacra of the Buddha's organs in silk, coins, two hand-written *sūtras*, several printed votive icons, a bronze mirror, two documents recording Chōnen's resolve to found a special cults around the image, and describing his itinerary in China, miscellaneous beads, etc. "Seiryōji" is a permissible pronunciation for the name of the temple housing the sandalwood figure; "Shōryōji" is the version given in Mochizuki's *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p. 2811.

[28] *Dainihon BZ, Jishi Sōsho*, p. 477. The report cited in the preceding note, however, makes it clear that the figure was carved not at the capital, where a direct comparison with the K'ai-pao-ssu image would have perhaps been possible, but by two sculptors of T'ai-chou in Chekiang (*op. cit.*, p. 31).

[29] Tanaka, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[30] See my "Aspects of Light Symbolism" in *Artibus Asiae*, XII, 3, pp. 273 ff.; also above, pp. 185 ff. Readers familiar with the secular romance *Ramayāna* will find its endless duels between heroes and ogre-villains mirrored in the "Sea" *sūtra's* encounter.

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last the Tathāgata came through the air against them, with His host of magician-disciples (all performing routine miracles *en route*, as if they were entertainers on floats in a Mardi Gras procession). As He arrived, surrounded by His squire Ānanda and the great gods, He emitted rays that turned into phantom Buddhas; they in turn emitted rays that turned into still more phantoms, until the sky was filled with Buddhas, like so many wild geese. The party of dragons raised a great tempest to herald the battle, and advanced shooting fire and smoke from their eyes and mouths. They were far outdone in fearsomeness, however, by the Buddha's guardian, Vajrapāṇi, who transformed his mace into a myriad weapons like wheels of fire, which fell through the air upon the Nāga king, burning him and filling him with such terror that he fled into the only visible haven of coolness — the Buddha's shadow — and surrendered. The lesser dragons were cowed by what seemed to them a gigantic Garuḍa bird appearing overhead, the inveterate enemy of the snake breed. In the sequel, the foul grotto that had been the physical center of the plague was cleaned and purified to make it proper for the Buddha's occupancy. He entered; and when the Nāga king implored Him never to leave, He promised that He would remain 1500 years there. Then, strangest of all, His "whole body penetrated the rock; and just as in a bright mirror a man can see the image of his face, so the Nāgas all saw the Buddha within the rock while radiantly manifesting Himself on its exterior . . . The Tathāgata sat cross-legged within the rock wall, while everyone watched; although only those who looked from afar could see Him, for close by He was invisible. The various gods in their hundreds and thousands all adored the Buddha's 'shadow,' and the 'shadow' also preached the Law."[31]

There is, I think, a deliberate vagueness in this final lack of distinction between the Buddha and His "shadow". The *sūtra*'s writer must have tried his best to foster the belief that the radiance seen by pilgrims within the cave proceeded not from anything left behind, but from the Lord Himself, miraculously preserved there instead of being lost forever in Nirvāṇa. The normal claim made for the "shadow image" asked for it a sanctity much greater even than that enjoyed by Udyāna's statue, for instead of being a human creation it was the work of the Lord Himself. The statement made in the "Sea" *sūtra*, if accepted with complete confidence, would have made the Hadda cavern the most holy place in the Buddhist world.

Fa-hsien, who visited the grotto in 400, says that "within it, at a distance of ten paces or so, one sees something like a true Buddha form, golden in color, with all the distinguishing marks radiantly clear. When one moves either closer or farther away, the likeness diminishes. The monarchs of lands in various directions have sent master painters to make copies, but without success. There is a local tradition that all of the Thousand Buddhas [of this *kalpa*] will leave Their shadows there."[32]

The much abbreviated travel records of two monks who went west not long after Fa-hsien, the Turfanese Tao-p'u and the Chinese Chih-meng, speak of their having seen the "shadow."[33] Around the middle of the fifth century the site was visited by the Northern Wei pilgrim Tao-ying. He mentions that the various attributes were brightly evident when seen from a distance, but dulled as one went closer; while to the hand there was only bare rock . "The face was remarkable, of a sort seldom seen."[34]

As we have seen in Wei Dynasties entry 5, the Northern Wei capital welcomed a party of

[31] *Daizōkyō*, XV, p. 681a, b.

[32] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 859a; Beal's translation, I, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

[33] From their biographies in *Kao SC*, ii (concluding the life of T'an-mo-ch'an) and iii; *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 337a, 343b.

[34] *Ibid.*, LI, p. 1021c; Beal's translation, I, pp. cvii–cviii. I believe that Beal errs in ascribing this passage to Sung Yün. His translation is at fault, also, in that there is no mention of an *ūrṇā* (at least in the versions of the text collated by the *Daizōkyō* editors).

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Sinhalese missionaries in 455, who in describing their travels and the sights they had seen gave unique emphasis to the two treasures of the Hadda region, the "shadow" and the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* bone. In speaking of the former they repeated two points noted by earlier visitors; the fact that many unsuccessful attempts to copy it had been made, and that it was most luminously distinct when viewed from a certain distance. They bore with them a painting made by one of their number, Buddhanandi, which they said was superior to all the other copies.

After a long hiatus caused by political disturbances in Central Asia, the cavern received its last great Chinese pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, at the middle of the seventh century. In his time all the Buddhist establishments of the old Kushan region were in decline, and the "shadow" cult had suffered severely His account of the apparition begins:[35]

"In the old days there was a Buddha's 'shadow' here, as luminous as if it had been the True Countenance. The major and minor attributes were complete, and as awe-inspiring as if He had been really present. In recent times people have not seen it so fully; at best what was visible was only a summary likeness. For those who pray with complete faith there is a mysterious manifestation, which may be glimpsed clearly for a while, but does not last long."

Hsüan-tsang retells the legend of the evil Nāga and his surrender to the Buddha; and repeats the prophecy that in addition to Śākyamuni, all the Buddhas who are yet to appear in this aeon will leave Their "shadows" in the cave.

In the disciple Hui-li's life of his master there is a more detailed account.[36] We learn that conditions in the vicinity of the grotto had become so dangerously unsettled that the escort furnished him by the neighboring king of Kapiśa tried to discourage his visit. When he insisted on continuing – he argued that "the 'shadow' of the real body of a Tathāgata would be a rare occurrence even in a million aeons" – his guides were first a little boy who took him part way, and then an old man who knew where the place was; and before they reached it they fell in with a party of robbers. When he finally entered the cavern he saw nothing at all for a long time. He reproached himself for his shortcomings, in tears; recited passages from the *sūtras;* chanted hymns; and performed in all some 200 acts of worship, with the deepest faith. The response that was vouchsafed him first took the form of a spot of light against the rock wall; and finally, after many more acts of devotion and heartfelt prayers, the cave brightened greatly and the luminous shadow appeared, "as if clouds and mist had parted to reveal a golden mountain . . . The body of the Buddha and His monk's robe were of a reddish yellow color. From the knees up the major and minor attributes were as clear as possible; but the lotus throne and what was below were rather indistinct. On either side and in back were present all the 'shadows' of the Bodhisattvas and saintly priests."

The apparition was clearly visible "for the space of half a meal-time," and was seen also by five out of six men whom Hsüan-tsang called in.

We are sure of at least one early attempt, made under the highest auspices, to transplant the "shadow" cult to China: the great abbot Hui-vüan, who had heard of it through several sources (including the missionary-translator Buddhabhadra, from Kashmir) had a careful replica constructed for his monastery on Mount Lu, which is said to have been completed in 412 (Chin entry 21).

In addition it seems to me likely that the emphasis given in the Wei history to the account of the arrival of the Sinhalese missionaries in 455 – the entry is unique – proves that the event was considered highly important at the Northern capital. In consequence it is natural to assume that an attempt was made to follow this providentially-sent authority in the early, imperial

[35] In the same texts, pp. 879a and I, 93–94.

[36] *Daizōkyō*, L, pp. 229b–230a; *Life*, pp. 60–62.

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sculptures of Yün-kang. It may be that we see an intended replica of the "shadow" image in the colossal seated Buddha of Cave 20.

I have quoted earlier (in Southern Ch'i entry 5) a eulogy composed to record the dedication of a Śākyamuni statue by an imperial Prince in 482, which refers to both of the great Western cults as a standard of comparison: "Its color tallies with the 'shadow' left behind [in the cave]; its perfection exceeds that of the sandalwood [image]." Elsewhere I have brought together a number of other quotations from the late Six Dynasties and early T'ang, to testify to the continuing Chinese awareness of the "shadow" as one of the major facts in the iconographic background of the Buddhism of the time.[37]

The Colossal Maitreya Statue:

The first eye-witness account of this image known to me occurs in the biography of the Chinese pilgrim Pao-yün given in the *Ming Seng Chuan*, xxvi.[38] (The better-known life found in the *Kao Seng Chuan*, iii, tells of his leaving for the West in 397, but sums up what he saw there in the tantalizing phrase, "He witnessed all the marvels.")[39] In the Japanese excerpt we find:

"In the land of T'o-li he saw the image of Maitreya as a Buddha, eighty feet tall and [covered with] gold plates. At its feet he confessed his sins with the utmost devotion for fifty days, and then at night saw a supernatural light shine forth, as bright as the rising sun. Those who witnessed this filled the roads..."

Three years later as Fa-hsien came down through the mountain passes he found "T'o-li" the first country beyond the North Indian border.[40] "The monks there all study the Hīnayāna. In olden times there was in that land an Arhat who used his supernatural powers to transport a skilled craftsman up to the Tuṣita Heaven so that he might observe the Bodhisattva Maitreya, how tall He was, and what complexion and form He had; so that on returning to Earth he could carve wood into an image. From start to finish three ascents were made, until the image was completed. It is eighty feet tall, the foot being eight feet long. On fast days it always emits a light. The monarchs of various countries vie with each other in making offerings to it..."

In the following paragraph, in recording a conversation with monks — presumably of T'o-li, though the passage seems misplaced — about the date when Buddhism was first carried eastward, Fa-hsien records a local belief that it had been after the erection of the statue that monks from India had first passed that way, as missionaries. The making of the statue is placed "three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, which is to say in the reign of King P'ing of the Chou..."

The third known Chinese visitor was the Kansu monk Fa-sheng, who joined the party led by Chih-meng that left Ch'ang-an for the West in 404.[41] Again we are indebted to the *Ming Seng Chuan*, xxvi, for a detailed description.[42] "Northeast of the kingdom of Yu-ch'ang they saw the eighty-foot Maitreya image, of ox-head sandalwood. 480 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa an Arhat named Harinanda journeyed to Tuṣita for the salvation of mankind and sketched the Buddha's true form, which he impressed upon this image. It constantly emits light... Many men from afar become attendants on the statue, confessing their faults and praying that they may overcome all obstacles. Those who win thereby the first fruit of salvation number several tens yearly. Fa-sheng joined with churchmen and laymen of various lands, totalling five hundred, to pray that when they discarded their bodies they would infallibly see Maitreya. These prayers

[37] Soper, "Aspects of Light Symbolism," *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, 1–2, pp. 81 ff.

[38] *Meisōden-shō*, p. 13v.

[39] *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 339c.

[40] *Ibid.*, LI, pp. 857c–858a; Beal's translation, I, p. xxix.

[41] Noted in Chih-meng's biography, *Kao SC*, iii; *Daizōkyō*, L, p. 343b.

[42] *Meisōden-shō*, p. 13r.

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being acceptable, his incense smoke swirled up to the right, and in an instant all the [threads of] smoke joined in a shape like a canopy, which revolved three circuits to the right before it gradually dissipated — so it is said."

Hsüan-tsang speaks of working through dangerous gorges to reach the "Ta-li-lo valley, where the ancient capital of Wu-chang-na [Udyāna] stood . . . At the side of a great monastery there is a wooden statue of the Compassionate Bodhisattva. Its golden color is dazzling; its divine glance in secret carries everywhere. It is a hundred feet or more high, and was made by the Arhat Madhyāntika. The latter employed his supernatural powers to carry a craftsman up to the Tuṣita Heaven, so that he might with his own eyes observe the wondrous attributes. After three trips the work was completed. It was when this image came into existence that the current of the Dharma began to flow eastward."[43]

We have already met Tao-hsüan's version in Sung entry 23. Borrowing from both Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, he adds details of his own; as usual, it is hard to tell whether these come from any background of fact, or were communicated to him by an angelic visitor. He calls the Arhat Upasena; speaks of excavating a great stone mountain to make a Buddha cave; and describes the architectural setting as mounting through five storeys to a height of some 300 feet.

"T'o-li" and "Ta-li-lo" must be Darēl, the small, mountain-girded valley high up on the headwaters of the Indus.[44] Fa-sheng's "Yu-chang" is presumably the ancient Udyāna (or modern Swat), lying downstream to the southwest. I cannot explain the name given the Arhat by Tao-hsüan; but Hsüan-tsang's version, by contrast with the original "Harinanda," marks a change that probably came from a good reason. "Madhyāntika" is a much better known name on the fringes of Buddhist history than are the other two. He is said to have been a disciple of Ānanda, and received from his master the mission to convert the territory of Kashmir.[45] It was in that country that he was remembered with the greatest reverence, as a sort of patron saint; and so when his name appears in a legend connected with a mountainous little valley to the north, the fact doubtless indicates an extension of the influence of the Kashmir Church.

The improbability of Fa-hsien's date for the image, three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, is compounded by the fact that his date for the Nirvāṇa itself is too early by half a millennium; in tying the event to the reign of King P'ing of the Chou he places it in the period 770—720 B.C.

The Sui dynasty history and bibliography of Buddhism, *Li-tai San Pao Chi*, ii, in assigning a chronological place to the manufacture of the Maitreya colossus, follows instead Fa-sheng's estimate of 480 years. Since its date for the Nirvāṇa is a more realistic one, as well, the year reached is 129 B.C., during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han.[46] (The abbreviated account is in general like Fa-sheng's, except that Harinanda is further described as having been a prince of the ruling house.) Even this is only a halfway step in the right direction, however, since the facts of Buddhist art history make it virtually impossible that a statue of the sort could have been carved prior to the first century A.D., at the earliest. Very likely Fa-sheng's "480 years" is as arbitrary a guess as Fa-hsien's. If it is to be conceded any usefulness at all, it may be through the fact mentioned earlier in my discussion of the iconography of Maitreya:[47] that a Northern belief — found in the important *Vinaya* of the Mulā Sarvāstivādin sect, whose home was in Kashmir — placed the reign of the Kushan Emperor Kaniṣka four hundred years after the Nirvāṇa.[48] If we date the colossus with reference to the Kaniṣka period, which must have remained for

[43] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 884b; Beal's translation, I, p. 134.
[44] Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, I, p. 20.
[45] Przyluski, *Açoka*, pp. 49–50, 339–342.
[46] *Daizōkyō*, XLIX, p. 30.
[47] See above, p. 218.
[48] Przyluski, *Açoka*, p. 174.

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generations one of the great landmarks in Northern memories, we reach the beginning of the third century. At that time the Kushan regime was still strong and prosperous enough to support so costly an undertaking; and the iconic revolution was far enough in the past to permit the making of images of a spectacular size.

Pao-yün's description uses the phrase *chin po* — literally "gold thin" — to identify the statue's material.[49] Since the other pilgrim's speak of the statue as wooden, I have assumed that it was given a kind of skin made of gold sheets, hammered into shape over the sandalwood core (as was done in the Early Middle Ages in Europe, for example, in constructing such icons as the silver Saint Chaffres of Le Monastier).[50] I take it that Hsüan-tsang was speaking of a similar "skin" when he described the smaller Bāmiyān colossus — which we think of as stone, from its appearance today — as "a standing Śākyamuni of brass, a hundred feet tall or more; its body being subdivided into separately cast [pieces], which were fitted together when it was constructed." For a further discussion of this type of composite sculpture, see the chapter on materials and techniques.[51]

We have met two explicit signs that the Darel colossus was known and revered in China. The lost *Ming Hsiang Chi*, composed at the end of the Sung or the beginning of Southern Ch'i by Wang Yen, containes in its preface this passage:

"In the West there are two images, a Śākyamuni and a Maitreya, that are as gloriously efficacious as if they were real; the reason being that they possess the proper body attributes."

Here the Śākyamuni referred to must have meant the sandalwood image (Sung entry 30). Toward the end of Southern Ch'i, again (entry 14), we have found the hermit monk Seng-hu vowing "to carve a hundred-foot stone Buddha, in reverent imitation of the thousand-foot form of Maitreya."

I believe it not unlikely, also, that at least part of the Northern Wei decision to carve a group of colossi at Yün-kang was due to a desire to match the Darēl feat — *not* the sculpture at Bāmiyān, of which the Chinese of this age seem to have been ignorant. (No known pilgrim passed that way before Hsüan-tsang; and Bāmiyān is not mentioned in a way that reveals any detailed knowledge in the parts of the Wei history that reveal contacts with the West.)[52]

The Reliquary Stūpa of King Asoka:

We have seen (in Chin entry 5) that the legend of Liu Sa-ho, the first pilgrim-explorer to visit the "Aśokan" remains of South China, included an account of his visit to a half-buried *stūpa* at Mou-hsien, near the port of Ning-po in Chekiang. Later, through imperial interest, a "King Aśoka Temple," A-yü-wang-ssu, was established at the site. By T'ang times we find that the monks there were identifying as Liu's discovery something entirely different from the original description: a small, portable reliquary in *stūpa* form, with sculpture on its sides.[53] Our first informant about this object is Tao-hsüan, in whose great corpus of sites and monuments it heads the roster of Aśokan *stūpas* located on Chinese soil.[54] He describes it as follows:

"As for the appearance of this miraculous *stūpa;* its color is green, and it looks like stone, although it is not. Its height is 1.4 feet, and it is

[49] See the general glossary.

[50] Evans, *Art in Mediaeval France*, pl. 5; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du douzième siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, pp. 202–203.

[51] *Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 873b; Beal's translation, I, p. 51. See my pp. 253ff. above.

[52] Pelliot believes that the name Bāmiyān appears in the transliterated form Fan-yang in the account given of the West in *Pei Shih*, xcvii, p. 10r. (in Godard, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris, 1928, p. 76). Fan-yang is merely named as one of the regions bordering Tokharestan, however, and is inaccurately located; nothing more is said about it.

[53] See my "Japanese Evidence for the History of the Architecture and Iconography of Chinese Buddhism," *Monumenta Serica*, IV, 2, 1940, pp. 641ff.

[54] *Daizōkyō*, LII, p. 404b.

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0.7 feet on a side. There is a five-tiered 'dew-dish'; it looks like one of the *stūpas* made at Khotan, in the Western Regions. Each face is opened by a window; on all four sides there are 'celestial bells.' Within hangs a bronze chime; from time to time a tinkling sound is heard, which probably comes from this chime. Surrounding the body of the *stūpa*, furthermore, are figures of various types, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vajra [guardians], and saintly priests and the like, fashioned with extreme minuteness; at first glance there seem to be hundreds or thousands of figures visible. All are completely worked out in their faces, eyes, hands, and feet. [The object] might well be called a holy monument of divine origin, for it is not the sort of thing that human understanding could achieve. At present it is housed inside a large wooden pagoda."

A more accurate description has been preserved from the next century in the travel record of Chien-chen, the famous old Chinese missionary who endured so many hardships and disasters in his attempts to reach Japan. When his first voyage ended in shipwreck in 743, he and his party took refuge at A-yü-wang-ssu, and were duly shown the monastery's greatest treasure. The diary kept by the Japanese disciple Genkai begins by identifying the reliquary as one of the 84,000 *stūpas* that Aśoka had erected, with the help of good and evil spirits.[55] Then we read:

"This stupa is neither of gold, nor of jade, nor of stone, nor of earth, nor of bronze, nor of iron. It is purplish-black in color, and its sculptures are unusual. On one side is the story of Prince [Mahā]sattva; on the second is the story of the plucking-out of the eyes; on the third is that of the removal of the brain; on the fourth is that of the ransom of the dove. There are no 'dew-dishes' on top; inside is hung a bell."

The account continues to tell of Liu Sa-ho, and without noticing any incongruity, speaks of "the square platform several feet in height, covered over by grass and weeds" that he unearthed.

One later attempt to record the appearance of the reliquary brings in two other details. The Ming history of the "King Aśoka Temple" contains a quotation from a Yüan version of the legend of its finding, which in most respects follows the phraseology of Tao-hsüan. The description runs:[56]

"There are five tiers of 'dew-dishes,' and projections at the four corners. The four faces have window-[like] openings. Inside hangs a precious chime, [which is?] surrounded by the Lokapālas. As for the various images that ring the *stūpa* round, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the beneficent spirits and holy priests and gods, they are rendered with surpassing skill."

The manifest gaps between these three accounts may fortunately be filled in fairly well by other sources of information. The reliquary seems to have had an unusually stable history, particularly in comparison to the sandalwood image. If we read the temple records with no more than the average degree of skepticism, we may be prepared to believe that although it was many times borrowed by pious princes, it was always returned again to its home (instead of being carried about from one dynastic capital to another, like the Udyāna statue). Its cult has continued at A-yü-wang-ssu into modern times; and an object purporting to be the original was seen and photographed by the French Sinologue Henri Maspero in 1914. His contribution falls tantalizingly short of completeness, since he was unable to identify clearly all that he saw, and his photograph turned out very badly. He makes it clear, at least, that some sort of close continuity

[55] Takakusu, "Le voyage de Kanshin en Orient," *Bull. de l'école fr. d'ex. Or.*, XXVIII, 1928, p. 453. I owe to the Princeton Ph. D. dissertation of W. Fong, *Five Hundred Lohans at the Daitokuji* (1956), knowledge of the fact that one of the *kakemono* of that set remaining in Kyōto has as its subject the Arhats watching a group of diminutive demons assembling the parts of the reliquary. The set was painted in or around 1178 for a temple in the Ning-po area.

[56] Soper, "Japanese Evidence," p. 644, from the *A-yü Wang Shan Chih* (as quoted by Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, V, p. 171).

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has been maintained at least since the period of Tao-hsüan's and Chien-chen's descriptions.[57]

The reliquary that he saw was about 0.3 meter high, and was covered with a fine black patina; the material seemed to be perhaps wood or ivory. The base was ornamented by figures seated in meditation between pilasters (the photograph shows four on a side). Each face contained a figure group framed by a cusped arch. The corners of the box were framed by pillars that were crowned by capitals in the shape of Garuḍa monsters. Above the cornice each corner rose in a projection filled with "petits personnages." Maspero failed to recognize the subjects of the main figure groups, under the arches; his guides informed him that they were "Vajra-bearing protectors of the Law, with gods and divers beings." The object looked very old to him, and he thought it by no means impossible that it might go back to the Six Dynasties period.

The inadequacy of Maspero's photograph may be partially remedied by the fact that a large number of mediaeval copies of the reliquary exist, in more accessible places. The earliest known is a bronze set — said to have numbered 84,000, like Aśoka's — cast in 956 by order of the pious prince of the secession state of Wu-Yüeh, Ch'ien Shu. The size here is only about half that of the original, and so the details have been somewhat simplified: Maspero's Garuḍa capitals, for example, barely retain a recognizable bird form. Several other metal imitations, varying considerably in their details, are known; and the type was followed at a larger scale in stone, most closely in the *stūpas* in or around Ch'üan-chou dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[58]

From these scraps of information it is possible to piece together a picture of the reliquary described by Tao-hsüan and Chien-chen. It was a box whose projecting base made it somewhat taller than a cube. At each corner of the roof rose a high acroterion, shaped rather like a horse's ear. There was probably a very low swelling of the roof, to serve as a dome; from the center rose a spire with five disks — the "dew-dishes" of the Chinese texts — and a finial.

The fact that Chien-chen saw no "dew-dishes" in the eighth century is a troublesome discrepancy, which I can explain only by suggesting that he found the object in a damaged or disintegrating state (which may have been remedied thereafter by replacing the original with a copy).

The main sculptural decoration on each face, within a niche "window" framed by a cusped arch, was a narrative scene. In this respect Chien-chen's account is the only accurate one of the three I have quoted. Tao-hsüan, in mentioning a typical Mahāyāna group, may have been following the description of a visitor who saw the reliquary from too great a distance to make out its details. The Yüan text presumably adhered to his authority. What is interesting, indeed, is not their inaccuracy, but Chien-chen's rightness. It must have been a fairly rare accomplishment in the eighth century, when Mahāyāna Buddhism was moving in full flood toward its Tantric climax, to be able to recognize anything so old-fashioned as a Jātaka tale. All four scenes recorded notable sacrifices performed by Śākyamuni in previous incarnations: His offer of His body, as Prince Mahāsattva, to feed the starving tigress and her cubs; His gifts of eyes and head as alms; and His payment of ransom for the dove with His own flesh.

The strongly emphasized basement held a series of four Buddhas on each side, squatting in meditation between pilasters.

No single source seems to me to explain the design of the Aśokan reliquary. Most of its clues seem to point to the region around the northwest Indian frontier. The four Jātakas shown were those especially celebrated in Gandhāra by

[57] Maspero, "Rapport sommaire sur une mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang," *Bull. de l'école fr. d'ext. Or.*, XIV, 1914, pp. 44–49, fig. 25.

[58] Soper, *op. cit.*, figs. 2a–3c.

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pilgrimage sites; as we have seen in Wei entry 28, the sixth century visitor Sung Yün had them reproduced for him in bronze by a craftsman in the Kushan capital. The general layout of the two main storeys looks like a reduced version of the cubical, brick-and-stucco *stūpa* type found in the fourth and fifth and early sixth centuries, all the way from Taxila to Shotorak in Afghanistan. There a basement with Buddhas between pilasters is a commonplace. Occasionally, as in *Stūpa* D2 at Shotorak, the trefoil arch framing the niche may spring from the base moulding, just as it does on the reliquary, instead of from the normal impost level at the top of the pilaster.[59] The disproportionately tall corner acroteria may have been inherited, I like to think, from an ancient Near Eastern altar form with corner "horns."[60] For Tao-hsüan the whole form suggested "the *stūpas* made in Khotan, in the West." On the other hand the little that Maspero's photograph reveals of the figure style suggests a lithe gracefulness something like that of Pallava sculpture in the Deccan. Again, the serrations of the arch contour are much farther from the simple trefoil of the northwest than from the sinuous contours of some early Khmer lintels, for example that of the seventh century Saṃbor Prei Kuk.[61]

The Aśokan reliquary had presumably been a treasure of its temple for several generations, or at least decades, before it was described by Tao-hsüan at the mid seventh century. Possibly it was acquired during the Liang; a *terminus post quem* seems to be provided by a notice in the Liang history that in 536, when the temple was given a new pagoda by Wu Ti's generosity, "the old *stūpa* was opened, and from it were taken the relics . . . to be carried to the imperial palace."[62] The *stūpa* mentioned here was clearly the ruined building discovered by Liu Sa-ho, and not an object that could itself have been transported to Nanking (as it was to visit later capitals). At any rate one may assume that a Ning-po monastery would have been likely, in the later sixth or early seventh century, to acquire an exotic treasure by sea, rather than by the distant and difficult land highway. Thus the reliquary probably came from, or at least passed through, the Indonesian region; and its stylistic incoherence may, I think, be best explained by imagining it as a Kushan design, created at Peshawar like Sung Yün's bronze, and then freely copied in south India or "Fu-nan." If this were so, it would have repeated the process of transmission that I have suggested may have lain behind the arrival at Nanking in the later fifth century of "a brass image of Amitāyus presented by the realm of Lin-i" (Sung entry 31).

[59] Meunié, *Shotorak*, pp. 18–19, fig. 4. *Stūpa* D4 at the same site has conventionalized eagles in its spandrels, which may help to explain the reliquary's Garuḍa capitals (pp. 25–26, fig. 6).

[60] Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 659–661, figs. 9–11.

[61] Ph. Stern, "Évolution du linteau Khmer," *Rev. des arts as.*, VIII, 1934, pl. LXXX, fig. 17.

[62] *Liang Shu*, liv (in the section on Fu-nan), p. 5r.

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To avoid excessive length this section has been severely curtailed. Only those entries have been admitted which promise to be potentially useful; and only those characters have been furnished in the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean sections which are not already well known or readily identifiable. Following this principle I have omitted the characters for all titles of emperors, and for the names of the familiar Japanese temples around Nara; and have disregarded entirely the names of minor persons and places.

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QUOTATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS

A. 倚　椅

B. 泥像七龕

C. 神表　高儀

D. 夫形理雖殊階塗有漸精麁誠異悟亦有因是故擬狀靈範啓殊津之心儀形神摸闢百盧之會使懷遠者兆玄根於來葉存近者遘重劫之厚緣

E. 夫最勝之相妙出無等非直光儀莫寫因亦形好不傳夫以世俗之指爪而丘法身之圓極算數譬喻豈我萬一自泥洹以來久踰千記西方像製流式中夏雖依經鎔鑄各務髣髴名士奇匠競心展力而精分密數未有殊絕晉世有……戴逵……者風清概遠……宅性居裡遊心釋教且機思通贍巧擬造化思所以影響法相咫尺應身乃作無量壽挾侍菩薩研思致妙精銳定製……覈准度於毫芒審光色於濃淡其和墨點彩刻形鏤法雖周人盡策之微宋客象楮之妙不能踰也

F. 夾紵

G. 逵以中古製像略皆朴質其於開敬不足動心素有潔信又甚巧思方欲改斲威容庶參眞極注慮累年乃得成遂東夏製像之妙未有如上之像也

H. 夫理貫空寂雖鎔範不能傳業動因應非形相無以感

I. 法身無像常住非形理空反應智滅爲靈窮寂震響大夜開冥眇哉遐壽非歲非齡物愛彫綵人榮寶飾

J. 此州伽藍支提基列雖多設莊嚴盛修供具觀其外迹必備華侈在乎意地實有未弘何者凡鑄金刻玉鏤漆圖瓦蓋所以仰傳應身遠注靈覺羨龍瓶之始晨追鵠林之餘慕故祭神如在敬神之道既極志聖玆遠懷聖之理必深此土諸寺止乎應生之日則暫列形像自斯已後封以篋笥乃至葉服離身尋炎去頂或十尊五聖共處一厨或大士如來俱藏一櫃信可謂心與事背貌是情非增上意多精進心少昔塔裏紅函止傳舍利象頭白繖非謂全身夫以畫像追陳尚使吏民識敬鎔金圖範終令越主懷思匹以龍阿尚能躍鞘方之虎兕猶稱出匣況復最大圓慈無上善聚聞名去煩見形入道而可慢此雕香蘊斯木檳緘匿玉毫封印金掌既殊羅閱久入四天又異祇洹掩戶三月寶殿空臨瓊階虛敞密帷不開非仲舒之曲學紅壁長掩似邪卿之避讎且廣厦雲垂崇甍鳥跂若施之玉座飾以金鈿必不塵靄輪姿翳點月面瑠璃密窓自可輕風難入龍鬚細網足使飛燕不過兼得虔敬之理必崇接足之心彌重

K. 莫不雲圖龍氣俄成組織之工水濯江波非假操刀之製

L. 自眞佛無像遙敬表心

M. 耳目生靈賴經聞佛藉像表眞

N. 藥王文殊維摩大士乃重□□姿

O. 夫靈蹤非啓則攀宗靡尋容像不陳則崇之必□是以眞顏□於上齡遺形敷于下葉暨于大代玆功厥作比丘慧成自以影濯玄流邀逢昌運率渴誠心爲國造石窟□□糸答皇恩有資來業

P. 夫玄宗沖邈跡遠於塵關靈範崇虛理絕於埃境若不圖色相以表光儀尋聲教以陳妙軌將何以依希至象髣髴神功者哉

Q. 伺候

R. 伺命　司命　司祿

S. 方便

T. 化形像　分身佛

U. 金薄　金箔

V. 金搏

W. 金鏄

X. 薄粉

Y. 七肘

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